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MAJ. GEN.^l JOHN STARK,

From a Painting by J. Boucher

Robert Rogers

REMINISCENCES

OF THE

FRENCH WAR;

CONTAINING

ROGERS' EXPEDITIONS

WITH THE NEW-ENGLAND RANGERS UNDER HIS COMMAND, AS PUBLISHED IN LONDON IN 1765; WITH NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS. TO WHICH IS ADDED AN ACCOUNT OF

THE LIFE AND MILITARY SERVICES OF

MAJ. GEN. JOHN STARK;

WITH NOTICES AND ANECDOTES OF OTHER OFFICERS DISTINGUISHED IN THE FRENCH AND REVOLUTIONARY WARS.

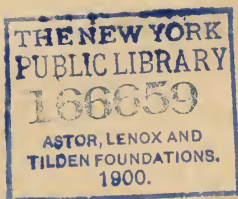


CONCORD, N. H.

PUBLISHED BY LUTHER ROBY.

.....
1831.

Checked



DISTRICT OF NEW-HAMPSHIRE—to wit.

District Clerk's Office.

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the 17th day of March, A. D. 1831 and in the fifty-fifth year of the Independence of the United States of America, Luther Roby of the said District, has deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as proprietor in the words following, viz.

“Reminiscences of the French War, containing Rogers' expeditions with the New-England Rangers under his command as published in London in 1765; with notes and illustrations. To which is added an account of the life and military services of Maj. Gen. John Stark; with notices and anecdotes of other officers distinguished in the French and Revolutionary wars.”

In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, entitled “An act for the encouragement of learning by securing the copies of maps, charts and books to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned, and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints.”

CHARLES W. CUTTER,

*Clerk of the District Court of the United States
for the District of New-Hampshire.*

A true copy of Record.

Attest.

C. W. CUTTER, *Clerk.*

PREFACE.



Those who have perused with pleasure the productions of the American Novelist, who have wandered with him, through the classic scenery of the north, who have visited the romantic shores of Lake George, and the mountains of ancient Carrillon, may perhaps possess the curiosity to ascertain something of the real actors in the scenes so admirably described. Passing with the author along the silent shore of the Bloody Pond, we are referred to the history of those times, when the splendor of European equipage mingled with the ruder armament of the North American savage ;—when the disciplined veterans of France and England were opposed in arms, each supported by their favorite allies from the wilderness. The language of the author, “who that saw this spot, would venture to say that a mighty army was at rest, among yonder silent trees and barren mountains,” reminds us of the defeat of Dicskiau, and the capture of William Henry, names never to be forgotten by New-England—for they are associated with the victory, or massacre of her sons.

The following is perhaps, the only account of the expeditions and services of a corps of men, which during the long and bloody wars of Great Britain and France, for the mastery in America, constituted the right arm of the British forces. The disasters, of the unfortunate Braddock, and his total defeat on the Monongahela, convinced the British Generals of their utter inability to operate in America, without the aid of a strong corps of Rangers, composed of the natives of the coun-

try, whose knowledge of Indian warfare, would enable them to prevent a similar surprise and overthrow. A commission was accordingly issued to Major Rogers, the author of this Journal, to enlist and discipline the corps; and his details may be relied upon as being substantially correct; and the rules established by him for the ranging service, may be of some benefit to future partisans, should wars with the Indians render such services necessary.

The Rangers were raised principally in New-Hampshire, were regularly paid by the Crown in the same manner as troops of the line, and officered by the most hardy, intelligent, and enterprising partisans of that day, many of whom, were afterwards distinguished in the Revolutionary war. The hardy character of the Rangers and the experience acquired by their hunting excursions and intercourse with the Indians, enabled them to discharge the arduous duties in which they were employed. These were to scour the woods, and ascertain the force and position of the enemy; to discover and prevent the effect of his ambuscades, and to ambush him, in their turn; to acquire information of his movements, by making prisoners of his sentinels, who were frequently taken and brought away from the gates of Crown Point and Ticonderoga, by these daring woodsmen; to clear the way for the advance of the regular troops, and lastly, to fight the enemy according to his own fashion, and with his own weapons, whenever circumstances required. If on these occasions, they sometimes deviated from the usages of civilized warfare, in making use of the scalping knife, the barbarity of the enemy, the law of retaliation, and the emergency of the times must be their apology. They were compelled to fight Indians upon their own terms.

Their expeditions were confined to no particular season. Summer or winter, it was the same to them. They frequently made long and fatiguing marches through the snow, by the use of snow shoes, and were often, obliged to encamp in the forest without fire,* for fear of

* A few pine boughs hastily thrown together, formed their camp, even in the dead of winter, and their having a fire depended upon their distance from the enemy.

being discovered by the vigilance of the enemy ; and with no other food, than the game they had killed on the march. They frequently penetrated 500 miles into the enemy's country, destroying French settlements, and Indian villages. They were in fact, the most formidable body of men ever employed as partisans in the wars of this country ; and in every regular engagement proved themselves not inferior to the British Troops.— The description and character of the scout in the last of the Mohicans, is not inapplicable to those of one of Rogers' Rangers.

The dilatory manner in which the war against the French was conducted by Lord Loudoun and the capture of Fort William Henry, during his absence on the Louisburgh expedition, by a powerful force of French and Indians, under the Marquis de Montcalm, the Governor of Canada, and the character for vigilance and activity evinced by that accomplished general, while the former gave dissatisfaction to the Ministry, the latter produced despondency and alarm in the Provinces. Gen. Abercrombie succeeded to the command of all the forces in America, and much was expected from him, aided as he was, by the talents of the active and enterprising Howe. But the subsequent repulse of 16000 British troops, before the lines of Ticonderoga, (in which the gallant Howe fell,) evinced that little had been effected by the exchange.

About this time, Pitt assumed the direction of British affairs. Under his auspices, an immediate alteration took place. Vigorous measures were adopted to recover the lost ground in America, and to wrest from France the whole of her possessions in that country. It was on this occasion, that the minister presented his Majesty, with what he termed "a long and melancholy list of Lieut. Generals and Major Generals," and observed that with all these redoubtable warriors at command, he was compelled to seek out and promote Colonels, to command the armies. Amherst, Wolfe, Monckton, Murray, and others were by him brought forward, at the expense of the imbeciles, who then encumbered the half-pay list.

Upon the occasion of Wolfe's appointment to command the expedition against Quebec, some one observed to George II. that Wolfe was thought to be a madman ; and wholly unfit to be entrusted with so important a command. "Is he," says the King, "then I wish he would bite all the rest of my generals."

The result justified the confidence reposed. Wolfe carried by a bold surprise, the heights of Abraham, met the strength of the French Army on the Plains of Quebec, and fell in the hour of victory. But the object was attained. The fall of Quebec was followed by the advance of Amherst, from Lake George,* reducing in his progress, all the French garrisons along the frontier, and the whole Province of Canada was surrendered without further bloodshed.

The information contained in the notes to this work, was obtained from persons intimately acquainted with some of the most distinguished leaders in the war against France, and who afterwards served with them during the Revolution ; to most of the principal events of which, they were eye-witnesses. While contemplating the character of the heroes of the Revolution, the scenes in which the greater portion of their lives were employed, and their entire devotion to the cause of their country, the heart is chilled with the reflection that of these war worn veterans—the pioneers of American Independence, a few only remain to witness the result of their unparalleled sufferings, and their victorious toils. It is to be hoped that their descendants cheered by the glori-

* Gen. Amherst proceeded by Oswego on Lake Ontario, while Colonel Haviland, advanced from Crown Point down Lake Champlain and the Sorell, and Gen. Murray from Quebec, and the whole army concentrated at Montreal, when Canada was surrendered Sept. 8, 1760.†

† It was thought to be an error in Gen. Amherst not to have proceeded immediately for the heart of Canada, and seconded the efforts of Wolfe against Quebec; where for the want of such co-operation he was at one time, in the most imminent peril.— This was just before he attempted the heights of Abraham ; where fortune at last, crowned the British hero with unfading laurels.

ous memory of the past, by a sense of gratitude for their present prosperity, and exalted anticipations of the future, will never suffer themselves to be reproached with the insulting taunt, that the spirit of the Revolution, which, like a rock of adamant, withstood the angry waves which dashed against it, has become extinct with the departure of the heroic souls which it once animated.

If in this attempt to throw light upon the history of that desperate struggle, which created this mighty nation, it shall be our fortune to rescue from oblivion, traits of character, and examples of patriotism, worthy of imitation by posterity, we shall consider our humble labors amply compensated.



Robert

ROGERS' INTRODUCTION.



In offering these journals to the public, the author claims no other merit, than that of relating impartially, matters of fact, as they occurred to his own observation, during the late war with France. Most of those relating to himself, can at present, be attested by living witnesses. Should the troubles in America be renewed, and the Savages, repeat those horrible acts of barbarity which they have heretofore so often practised upon British subjects, he flatters himself, that some advantage may accrue to those immediately concerned, from the perusal of these pages.

For all inaccuracies of language, the author claims a candid indulgence. The reader is to recollect, that it is the soldier, and not the scholar who writes; that he wrote not in the silence and leisure of the closet, but in the uncultivated deserts, and among the mountains of America,—amid the hurry, disorder and tumult of war, and often under a depression of spirits, the natural consequence of exhausting fatigue. These are in fact, the journals which were from time to time, transmitted to the Generals, under whom he acted.

His manner of life from early youth, having been brought up as it were, in the hunter's camp, and innured to hardship, rendered him peculiarly qualified for the service in which he afterwards engaged. Hunting was at that period, the most agreeable, and profitable business, in which the hardy youth of New England employed themselves. This brought them in frequent contact with the Indians, and they were enabled to obtain a knowledge of their language, manners, and customs, and became excellent marksmen.

About this time the proceedings of the French were such as to excite the jealousy of the English in the provinces of New York and New England. As Crown Point was the post from which, for many years, the Indians in the French interest, had been fitted out against our frontier settlements, a design was formed in 1755, to reduce that Fortress. Troops were levied in New England, New York, and New Jersey. Albany was appointed the general rendezvous; and Major General (since Sir William) Johnson appointed to the command. The writer on this occasion, commanded the company furnished by New Hampshire, and made several excursions to the North Western frontiers, with a view to prevent inroads from the enemy. On the 26th of August 1755, he was employed to escort the provision waggons from Albany to the Carrying Place, so called, since Fort Edward. Here he waited upon the General, to whom he had been recommended, as a person well acquainted with the haunts and passes of the enemy, and the Indian method of fighting, and was by him, despatched on several scouts to the French posts. He was on one of these, up Hudson River, on the 8th of September, when Lieut. General, the Baron Dieskau was taken prisoner, and the French and Indians under his command, defeated at the south end of Lake George, near the Bloody Pond, so called, from that defeat. For this service, General Johnson was created a Baronet.

REMINISCENCES
OF THE
FRENCH WAR.



JOURNAL.

Sept. 24, 1755. Pursuant to orders from Gen. Johnson to proceed to Crown Point, and if practicable, to bring from thence a prisoner, I embarked with four men and proceeding down Lake George 25 miles, landed on the west shore, where leaving two men in charge of the boat, I marched with the other two until the 29th, when we obtained a fair view of the Fort at Crown Point; and discovered a large body of Indians about the Fort, from whose irregular firing we supposed they were shooting at marks, a diversion of which, they are very fond. At night, our party crept through the French guards into a small village, south of the Fort, and passed through it to an eminence on the south west, where we ascertained they were erecting a battery, and had already thrown up an entrenchment on that side of the Fort. The next day we gained an eminence a small distance from the former, and discovered an encampment extending from the Fort south east, to a wind mill at thirty yards distance. The troops occupying it, amounted to about 500 men. Having

no opportunity for procuring a captive, and finding that our small party was discovered, it was thought best to commence a retreat on the 1st of October. On our rout homeward, we passed within two miles of Ticonderoga, from which a large smoke was observed, and the discharge of a number of small arms heard; but as our provisions were expended, we could not tarry to ascertain the enemy's force. On the 2d, reached the place where we had left the boat, in charge of two men, who to our great surprise had departed, leaving us no provisions. This circumstance hastened our return with all speed to the camp, where we arrived on the 4th, not a little fatigued, and distressed with hunger and cold.

Oct. 7. Orders were received from Gen. Johnson to embark with five men, and reconnoitre the French at Ticonderoga. Accordingly I proceeded at night to a point of land on the west shore of the Lake, where we landed and concealed our canoe leaving two men in charge of it and with the other three, arrived at Ticonderoga point, at noon. Here were about 2000 men, who had thrown up an intrenchment, and prepared a large quantity of hewn timber in the adjacent woods. We remained here the second night, and next morning saw them lay the foundation of a fort, on the point, which commands the pass from Lake George to Champlain, and the entrance to South Bay or Wood Creek. Having made what discoveries we could, and commenced our return, a large advanced guard of the enemy was found posted at the north end of Lake George, near the outlet to Champlain. While viewing these troops, I observed a bark canoe containing nine Indians and a Frenchman, passing up the Lake. We kept in sight of them, until they passed the point where our canoe and men had been left. They gave information that the party had landed on an Island six miles south of us, near the middle of the Lake. In a

short time they put off from the Island and steered directly towards us. In order to receive them in the best manner possible, we gave them a salute at 100 yards distance, which reduced their number to four. We then took boat and pursued them down the lake, until they were relieved by two canoes, which compelled us to retreat towards our camp at Lake George, where we arrived on the 10th of October.

Oct. 15. I was ordered to embark with forty men in five boats, with the design of discovering the strength of the enemy's advanced guard, and if possible, to decoy the whole, or part of them into an ambush. To effect this object, our exertions were indefatigable for several days but all to no purpose, and we returned to camp on the 19th.

Oct. 21. I embarked with four men, for Crown Point, in quest of a prisoner. At night, we landed on the west side, twenty five miles from the English camp, marched the remainder of the way and came in sight of the Fort on the 26th. In the evening, we approached nearer, and the next morning found ourselves within 300 yards of it.— My men lay concealed in a thicket of willows, while I crept nearer, and concealed myself behind a large pine log, by holding bushes in my hand. Soon after sunrise, the soldiers issued out in such numbers, that our party could not unite without discovery. About 10 o'clock a man came out alone and advanced towards our ambush. I sprang over the log, and offered him quarter, which he refused, making a pass at me with his dirk. This I avoided, and presented my fusee to his breast. He still pressed forward with resolution, and compelled me to shoot him. This gave alarm to the enemy, and made a retreat to the mountain necessary. Our party safely arrived at camp, Oct. 30th.

Nov. 4. Embarked for the enemy's advanced guard with thirty men in four batteaux, each mounting two wall pieces; and next morning arrived within half a mile of the guard, where we landed and concealed the boats. Four spies were sent out, who returned next evening, informing that the enemy had no works around them, but lay entirely open to assault. Word was immediately sent to the General, for a sufficient force to attack them, but notwithstanding his earnestness and activity, it did not arrive until we were compelled to retreat. On our return, we met the reinforcement, turned again towards the French, and the next evening sent two men to see if their sentinels were on the alert. They were discovered, fired upon, and so hotly pursued by the enemy, that unhappily our whole party was discovered. We obtained the first notice of this, from two canoes with thirty men in them, which we supposed came out at the same time with another party by land, to force us between two fires. To prevent this, Lieut McCurdy and myself embarked with fourteen men in two boats, leaving the remainder of the party on shore under the command of Captain Putnam.*

In order to decoy the French within reach of our wall pieces, we steered as if intending to pass them, which answered our expectations; for they boldly headed us until within an hundred yards, when the guns were discharged which killed several and put the remainder to flight; in which they were pursued, and driven so near to our land party, that they were again galled by the wall pieces. Several of the enemy were thrown overboard, and their canoes rendered very leaky.

At this time, I discovered their land party, and notified my men, who immediately embarked without

*Afterwards General Putnam.

receiving much injury from the sharp fire which the French kept up for some time in their rear. We pursued the enemy with diligence, and again discharged the wall pieces which obliged them to disperse. They were followed to their landing, where they were received and covered by 200 men, whom a discharge of our pieces compelled to retire; but finding their numbers greatly superior to ours, it was thought most prudent to return to camp, which we reached Nov. 8.*

Nov. 12. Proceeded with a party of 10 men, upon a scout, to ascertain the enemy's strength and condition at Ticonderoga, and on the 14th. arrived in sight of the Fort. The enemy had erected three new barracks and four store houses in the Fort, between which and the water, they had eighty batteaux hauled up on the beach. They had fifty tents near the Fort, and appeared to be very busily employed in strengthening their works. Having attained our object, we reached camp on the 19th.

Dec. 19. After a month's repose, I embarked with two men, once more, to reconnoitre the French at Ticonderoga. In our way a fire was discovered upon an Island near the Fort, which we supposed to have been kindled by the enemy. This obliged us to lie by, and act like fishermen, to deceive them, until night came on, when we gained the west shore 15 miles north of our camp. Concealing our boat we pursued our march by land on the 20th, and on the 21st at noon, reached the Fort. The enemy were still engaged in their works, and had mounted four pieces of cannon on the south east bastion, two on the north west, towards the woods, and two on the south bastion. They mustered about 500 men. We made several attempts to take

* This scene reminds us of the chase of the Scout upon the waters of Lake George, as described in the last of the Mohicans.

a prisoner by way-laying their paths; but they passed along in too large parties for us. This night we approached near the Fort; and were driven by the severity of the cold, to seek shelter in one of their evacuated huts. Before day, a light snow fell, which obliged us to march homeward with all speed, lest the enemy should perceive our tracks and pursue. We reached the boat in safety, though almost overcome with cold, hunger, and fatigue; and had the good fortune to kill two deer, with which being refreshed, on the 24th we returned to Fort William Henry, a fortress erected this year at the south end of Lake George.

About this time, Gen. Johnson went down to Albany to meet the commissioners from the several governments, whose troops he had commanded, (New-Hampshire excepted). These persons were empowered by their constituents, with the assent of a council of war, to garrison Forts William Henry and Edward, for that winter, with part of the troops then in service.

Accordingly a regiment was organized, to which Massachusetts furnished a Colonel, Connecticut a Lieut. Colonel, and New York a Major. General Johnson and the Commissioners judged it most prudent to leave one company of woodsmen, or Rangers under my command, to make excursions to the enemy's Forts during the winter; and we remained with the Garrison.

January 14, 1756. Marched with a party of 16 men to reconnoitre the French Forts, and proceeded down the Lake on skates, until we halted for refreshment near the falls between Lakes George and Champlain. At night, we renewed the march, and at day break, on the 16th, formed an ambush at a point of land on the east shore of Champlain, within gunshot of the path, in which the enemy passed from one Fort to the other. At sunrise, two sledges la-

den with fresh beef, were intercepted, with their drivers. The lading was destroyed and we returned to Fort Wm. Henry in good health, with our prisoners on the 17th.

Jan. 26. Marched by order of Col. Glasier, with fifty men to discover the strength of the enemy at Crown Point.

Feb. 2. We arrived within a mile of that Fortress, and ascended a steep mountain, the summit of which, afforded a full prospect of the Fort, and an opportunity for taking a plan of the works. In the evening, we retired to a small village half a mile to the south, and formed an ambush on each side of the road, leading from the Fort to the village. Next morning a Frenchman fell into our hands; soon after this, two more men were discovered, but they took alarm before we could seize them, and escaped to the Fort. Finding ourselves discovered by this accident, we set fire to the houses and barns of the village, containing large quantities of grain, and killed fifty head of cattle. We then retired with our prisoner, leaving the whole village in flames, and reached head quarters February 6th.

Feb. 29. Marched by order of Colonel Glasier, with fifty six men down the west side of Lake George, proceeding northward until the 5th of March, when we steered east to Lake Champlain, about six miles north of Crown Point, where from intelligence received of the Indians, we expected to find inhabited villages. We there attempted to cross the lake but the ice was too weak. On the 7th we returned and passing round the bay west of Crown Point, at night entered the cleared land among the houses and barns of the French. Here we lay in ambush, expecting labourers to attend the cattle and clean the grain, of which the barns were full. We

remained there that night and the next day until dark, when we set fire to the village and retired. On our return, we took a fresh view of Ticonderoga, reconnoitred that Fort and the advanced guard on Lake George, approaching so near, as to see the sentinels on the ramparts. We obtained all the knowledge we desired, of their works, strength, and situation; and March 14, reached William Henry in safety.

The next day, I received a letter from Mr. William Alexander,* Secretary of Governor Shirley, who commanded at Oswego the last year, and who now upon the decease of General Braddock, succeeded to the chief command of his Majesty's forces in North America. Upon the recommendation of General Johnson, Mr. Shirley requested me to wait upon him at Boston, where he was preparing for the campaign:—leaving to Ensign Noah Johnson,† the command of my company, I set out on the 17th for Boston.

On the 23d the General gave me a friendly reception, and the next day a commission to recruit an independent corps of Rangers. It was ordered that the Corps should consist of sixty privates at 3s (York currency) per day—an Ensign at 5s.—a Lieut. at 7s. and a Captain at 10s. Each man was to be allowed ten Spanish dollars towards providing clothes, arms, and blankets.—The company was to be raised immediately. None were to be enlisted but such as were accustomed to travelling, and hunting, and in whose courage and fidelity, the most implicit confidence could be placed. They were

* Afterwards Lord Stirling, a Major Gen. in the American army.

† Noah Johnson was in Lovewell's fight in 1725. He belonged to Dunstable, and at the age of 80, went up to Fryeburg to shew the first settlers the scene of Lovewell's battle with the savages.

moreover to be subject to military discipline, and the articles of war. The rendezvous was appointed at Albany, whence to proceed in whale boats to Lake George, and "from time to time, to use their best endeavours to distress the French and their allies, by sacking, burning, and destroying their houses, barns, barracks, canoes, batteaux, &c. and by killing their cattle of every kind; and at all times to endeavour to waylay, attack, and destroy their convoys of provision, by land and water, in any part of the country, where they could be found."

With these instructions, I received letters to the Commanding officers at Forts Wm. Henry, and Edward, directing them to forward the service with which I was now charged.

When the company was completed, part of it marched under the orders of Lieut. Richard Rogers to Albany: with the remainder, I passed through the woods to Number Four* a frontier town, greatly exposed. There I received orders to proceed to Crown Point, for which on the 28th of April we directed our course, through vast forests and over lofty mountains. The second day of the march Mr. John Stark† my second Lieut. became ill, and was obliged to return to Fort Edward, with a guard of six men.

May 5th. I arrived at Lake Champlain 4 miles south of Crown Point with nine men. We concealed our packs and entered a village on the east side, two miles from the Fort, but found no inhabitants. We waited the whole day following opposite the Point, for some party to cross the lake; but nothing appeared excepting 500 men in batteaux, com-

*New Charleston in the County of Sullivan, N. H. situated upon Connecticut river, and one of the pleasantest towns of New Hampshire.

†He afterwards became a General in the Revolutionary Army. See his Memoirs.

ing up the Lake from St. Johns to the Point. We kept our stations until 10 o'clock next day; but finding no opportunity to trepan the enemy, we killed 23 head of his cattle, whose tongues were of great service on our march. We now discovered eleven canoes manned by French and Indians, crossing the Lake, directly towards us; it was therefore judged most expedient to disperse, each man taking a different rout, and looking out for himself. This put our pursuers completely at fault. We assembled at the place where the packs were concealed, and upon a raft, crossed to the western shore. We obtained a passing view of the French and Indians encamped at the old Indian Carrying-place, near Ticonderoga, and reached Fort Wm. Henry the 11th of May. Mr. Stark and his party reached Fort Edward three days before, having in their way, discovered and eluded a scout of 400 Indians. Lieut. Rogers had arrived some days before, and was then upon a scout.

May 20. Was ordered by the General with a party of 11 men, to reconnoitre the French advanced guard. Viewing them next day, from the summit of a mountain, their number appeared to be 300 men, who were then busy in fortifying their position with palisades. From the other side of the mountain, we obtained a fine prospect of Ticonderoga and the French camp, which from the ground it occupied, I judged to contain 1000 men. This night was passed upon the mountain, and early next morning we proceeded to the Indian Carrying path, leading from Lake George to Champlain. There an ambuscade was formed between the advanced guard, and the Fort. About 6 o'clock, 118 Frenchmen passed along the path without observing us: in a few minutes after 22 others came the same way;—upon them we fired, killed six, and took one prisoner; but the first party returning at the re-

port of the guns, obliged us to retire in great haste. We reached Wm. Henry on the 23d in safety with our prisoner, who reported that 220 French and Indians were preparing to surprise the out parties at Fort Edward. This occasioned me a march next morning with 78 men, to join a detachment of Col. Bailey's* Regiment, and scour the woods as far as South Bay, to intercept the enemy, but he could not be found.

June 13. According to orders, this evening I embarked with 26 men, on a visit to my old friends the French guard. A severe thunder storm compelled us to land 10 miles from our Fort, and spend the night. At sunrise, we heard the discharge of about twenty small arms, on the opposite shore, which was supposed to proceed from a party of the enemy cleaning their guns after the rain. In the evening we embarked, and early on the morning of the 16th, drew up our batteaux four miles from the advanced guards, and lay in ambush by a path leading from them to the mountain, to surprise the enemy, who went there daily in parties to view the lake. We soon after discovered that the advanced party had evacuated their position, and demolished their works; we approached very near Ticonderoga, viewed their works from an eminence, and judged the garrison to consist of 3000 men. We all returned to our Fort on the 18th excepting one man, who strayed away and did not return till the 23d, then almost famished for want of food.

About this time, the General increased our company to seventy men and sent us 6 whale boats from Albany, with orders to proceed to Champlain, and cut off the supplies and flying parties of the enemy.

June 28. Embarked 50 men in five whale boats, and proceeded to an island in Lake George. The

* Col. Bailey afterwards resided at Newbury Vt. and took some part in the Revolution.

next day we landed our boats, and carried them six miles over a mountain, to South Bay, where we arrived July 3d. The following evening, we embarked and proceeded down the bay within six miles of the French Fort, and concealed our boats until next evening, when we embarked again, and passed by Ticonderoga* undiscovered, though we were so near as to hear the sentinels watchword. We judged from the number of fires, that the enemy had 2000 men in his camp. Five miles further down, we lay by all day and concealed our boats. Here several batteaux were seen passing up and down, the lake. At night, we put off with a design to pass Crown Point,† but afterwards judging it imprudent, on account of the clearness of the night, we lay concealed the next day, during which a hundred boats passed by us, seven of which came near our place of concealment, and would have landed there, but the officer insisted in our hearing, that he would go 150 yards further, where they landed and dined in our sight. At 9 o'clock at night, we re-embarked, passed the Point Fort, and concealed our boats 10 miles north of it.

July 7. Thirty boats and a schooner of 40 tons passed by us towards Canada. In the evening we proceeded 15 miles further down, and dispatched a scout which soon brought intelligence that a schooner lay at anchor one mile from us. We lightened our boats, and prepared to board her; but were prevented, by two lighters coming up the lake, whose crews intended to land where we were posted. These we fired upon, hailed, and offered quarter, if they would come on shore. But they push-

*The strait between Ticonderoga and Mount Independence is so narrow, that in 1776, a floating bridge was thrown over to facilitate communication between the Forts.

†The pass between Crown and Chimney Points is also very narrow.

ed for the other side, whither we pursued, and intercepted them. Their crews consisted of 12 men three of whom were killed by our fire, and two wounded, one in such a manner that he soon died. We sunk and destroyed both vessels and cargoes, consisting of wheat, and flour, wine and brandy. Some casks of the latter, were carefully concealed.* The prisoners informed us they were part of 500 men, the remainder of whom, were not far behind on their passage. This information hastened our return to the garrison, where we arrived with our prisoners, on the 16th of July. The prisoners reported "that a large force of regulars and militia, were assembling at Chamblee† destined for Carillon or Ticonderoga;‡ that a great quantity of provisions were on the way;—that a new General§ with two veteran regiments had arrived from France;—that there was no design against our Forts on this side; but that a party of 300 French and 20 Indians had already set out to intercept our provision convoys between Albany and Lake George;—that 60 *livres* was the reward for an *English scalp*; and prisoners were sold in Canada at *fifty crowns each*;—that the prospect of a harvest was very encouraging, but

*A provident thought for a soldier.

†Chamblee is 12 miles from St. Johns, and the head of navigation on the Sorell, from thence to St. Johns, the river is mostly a rapid.

‡The former is the French, the latter the Indian name, signifying the meeting or confluence of three waters.

§The Marquis de Montcalm, who commanded at the reduction of Oswego this year, and of Fort William Henry, the year following. He was Governor General of Canada, one of the most enterprising and accomplished generals of his time; he fell in the engagement with Wolfe, on the Plains of Abraham in 1759. A Monument is about being erected to the memory of both those heroic and devoted soldiers;—one of whom rejoiced that he died in the arms of victory; and the other that he should not live to witness the surrender of Quebec.

that the small pox had made dreadful havock among the inhabitants.”

Upon our return from this expedition, we learned that Gen. Shirley, had been superseded by Major Gen. Abercrombie, who reached Head Quarters at Albany on the 25th of June, with two regiments of regular troops from England. I therefore forwarded his Excellency the report of my last scout; and recommended an augmentation of the Rangers. Soon after I waited upon him at his quarters, and was ordered to raise a new company, the command of which was given to my brother Richard. The company was completed in 28 days, and went on a scout up the Mohawk. Of this company, Noah Johnson one of the survivors of Lovewell's fight, was appointed first Lieut. Nathaniel Abbot second Lieut. and Caleb Page, Ensign. John Stark my second Lieut. was appointed my first, John McCurdy succeeded him and Jonathan Burbank was appointed Ensign.

Aug. 2. By order of Gen. Abercrombie we embarked at Fort Wm. Henry in one of the lighters built there this summer, with twenty five men, to reconnoitre Ticonderoga and Crown Point.— Capt. Larned* with 60 men of the provincials, was at the same time, ordered by Gen. Winslow† to proceed as far as the French advanced guard; but not being acquainted with the country, he put himself under my command. We landed about 15 miles down Lake George, proceeded with the party until the evening of the 4th and encamped one mile from the advanced guard. On the morning of the 5th the whole party mustered, and gained

* Supposed to have been a Col. of the Massachusetts line in the Revolution.

† Gen. Winslow commanded the Provincials this year by virtue of a commission from the Provinces who were concerned in the Campaign of 1755, and was now with the greater part of the Provincials at Lake George.

the summit of a hill west of the enemy, from which we discovered two advanced posts, one on the west side, half a mile south of Champlain; and the other on the east side, opposite the former, at the old Indian Carrying place. We supposed there were 400 men on the east, and 200 on the west side.

After deliberating upon the situation of the enemy, we concluded it was imprudent to remain here any longer.—Capt. Larned returned to camp;—and my party went down towards Ticonderoga. We passed by and proceeded towards Crown Point, on the west side of Champlain, where we discovered several batteaux with troops bound for Carillon. We then proceeded to the place, where we burnt the village as mentioned before, and while encamped there, perceived a party of the enemy sally out driving horses and cattle to feed.

Aug. 7. Ambushed the road to intercept those who should come out to drive in the cattle. No one appearing, we approached within half a mile of the Fort, and were discovered by two Frenchmen before they were in our power. This obliged us to retreat, in which we killed 40 cattle and reached home August 10.

A company of Stockbridge Indians was this year employed in his Majesty's service, officered by Indians commissioned by Gen. Shirley. Gen. Abercrombie was at a loss how to dispose of them; but was advised by Sir Wm. Johnson to employ thirty privates and a Lieut. *as scouts, to scour the woods under the direction of the Ranger officers. This party Lieut. Stark had strengthened with some of his own men, and sent on a scout with particular directions, the day before I returned from my last excursion.

*The remainder of the Indian company with their Captain, were sent to Saratoga, to act under Colonel Burton.

About this time, his Excellency the Earl of Loudoun arrived at Albany and assumed the command in Chief. To him I transmitted an account of the Indian scout above mentioned, (which returned on the 12th with two French scalps,) requesting permission to penetrate into Canada with the Indians, and distress the inhabitants by burning their harvest (now nearly ripe) and destroying their cattle.

Accordingly August 16, we embarked in whale boats in two detachments, Lieutenant Stark commanding one and myself the other. The next morning we joined each other, and fell in with eight Mohawks, who had left William Henry the day previous. We then proceeded to the place where our boats had been left, July 7, twenty miles north of Crown Point, on the west side of Champlain, which we reached on the 24th. Embarking again, we steered down the lake towards St. Johns; and next day made twenty miles. At midnight a schooner was observed standing up the Lake, with a fair wind towards Crown Point; she passed so swiftly, that we could not possibly board her as was intended. We landed on the 26th, and the Mohawks departed to join a party of their brethren then on a scout. The 27th ambushed a point of land to intercept the enemy's batteaux which might pass up and down the Lake; not finding any, we returned up the Lake, and landed 8 miles north of Crown Point, on the east shore. The 29th in the morning, entered a village lying east of the Fort and took prisoners a man, his wife and daughter, (a pretty girl of fourteen) and with them we returned to Wm. Henry, Sept. 22d.

The Frenchman stated, that "he was a native of Vaisac, in the province of Guienne, and kingdom of France; he had been in Canada 15 years, in the Colonies' service six, and two years at Crown Point; that the Point was garrisoned by only 300 men, and

those mostly inhabitants of the villages adjacent ; that 4000 men occupied Ticonderoga or Carillon ; 1500 of which were regular troops, who had a plenty of all kinds of provisions and stores;—that he never was at Carillon, or the advanced guard ; but heard there were only 15 men at the latter ; that 600 Indians were at Carillon, and 600 more expected ; that 1200 had reached Quebec on their way to Carillon ; that the last 1800 were commanded by Mons. Scipio de la Masure ; that Ticonderoga was well supplied with cannon, mortars, shells, shot &c ; that the garrison expected a reinforcement in two or three days, having sent boats to Montreal to bring troops ; that he had heard by letter that Oswego had fallen into the hands of the French, but it was not yet confirmed ; that it was understood we intended to invest Carillon, but he did not know what course the French would take, should we neglect that step, that 'they kept 150 bateaux on the Lake 35 of which, plied between Montreal and Carillon ; that Mons. Montcalm commanded at Frontinac with 5000 men, but did not know whether they were regulars or militia ; that a great many vessels had arrived at Quebec with provisions and military stores ; that it was heard we had several ships in the St. Lawrence ; that Mons. le Conte Levi commanded Carrillon ; that he came last year from France ; that since the capture of the two last shallops or lighters, (before mentioned) the number of men on board the large schooner had been augmented from 12 to 30."

On my return, by order of Lord Loudoun I waited on Col. Burton at Saratoga, and was by him directed to march my company from Wm. Henry to South Bay, thence east to Wood Creek, to cross the creek southerly opposite Saratoga, and make report to him. In this tour, we apprehended 4 deserters from Otway's Regiment going over to the ene-

my, who were sent back to Fort Edward in the charge of Lieut. Stark.

Having executed our commission, we proceeded to Saratoga and reported to Col. Burton. There we met Capt. Richard Rogers from the Mohawk with the Stockbridge Indians in company. We all returned to Fort Edward, where an encampment was formed. Part of the Indians* were sent out on the east side of Champlain, to alarm the enemy at Ticonderoga, while a detachment of my own and Capt. Richard Rogers' company, proceeded down Lake George in whale boats, leaving the remainder of our Rangers to serve as flankers to the parties conveying provisions to Fort Wm. Henry.

Sept. 7. We embarked on Lake George, with 14 men in a whale boat, which we concealed the following evening, on the east shore four miles south of the French advance. Here I left 7 men in charge of Mr. Chalmers a volunteer (sent me by Sir John St. Clair) with directions, upon discovering the enemy's boats proceeding up the Lake, to convey the news with all possible speed to Fort Wm. Henry. With the other seven, I arrived on the 9th within half a mile of Ticonderoga. The enemy were engaged in raising the walls of the Fort, and had erected a large block house near the south east corner of the Fortress, with ports for cannon. East of the block house was a battery commanding the Lake. Five houses were discovered close to the water-side, and south of the works—160 tents on the south west side, and twenty seven batteaux hauled up on the beach.

Next morning with one private, I took a view of the falls between Champlain and Lake George, where we had heard the discharge of several mus-

* Capt Jacob with his Indians returned two days after, with four French scalps which they obtained on the east side of the Lake opposite Ticonderoga.

kets the evening before. Mr. Henry had been sent to discover the cause, and soon joined me reporting that the French were building a small Fort at the head of the falls, on the east shore of the Lake; that he also discovered their guard on the west, and estimated both parties at 500 men. We found the French engaged in erecting a sawmill at the lower part of the falls, and returned to our boats and provisions which Mr. Chalmer had left. He having executed his orders, had returned to camp, whither we followed his track, and arrived on the 11th inst.

Sept. 24. Gen. Abercrombie ordered that three commissioned officers of the Rangers with 20 privates each should reconnoitre Wood Creek, South Bay and Ticonderoga, who alternately kept up a continual scout for some time.

Oct. 22. The greater part of the army now lay at Fort Edward under General Abercrombie, and Lord Loudoun arriving at this time, it was supposed that notwithstanding the season was so far advanced, an attempt would be made upon the French Fortresses. But his Lordship supposing the Lakes would freeze, (as they generally do in December,) and that no communication could be kept up with William Henry, contented himself with keeping the field, until Mons. Montcalm retired to winter quarters.

This day we embarked in two whale boats, with a party of 20 men, being ordered to bring a prisoner from Ticonderoga. We passed the narrow twenty miles from our embarkation, when Captain Shepard, (who had been taken in August last) hailed our boat. I knew his voice, and took him on board with three men, one of whom, was taken with him. He left Canada fifteen days before. We continued our course, landed on the night of the 27th on the west shore, concealed our boats, and travelled by land, within a mile of the Fort. Th

next day we discovered two videttes to the piquet guard of the French Army, one of whom, was posted on the road leading into the woods. I marched directly down the road in the middle of the day, with five of my party, until we were challenged by the sentry. I answered in French signifying friends; he was thereby deceived, till we came close to him, when perceiving his mistake, in great surprise he called out, "*Qui etes vous?*" I answered "Rogers," led him from his post in great haste, and with our party reached William Henry Oct. 31st. The prisoner reported "that he belonged to the Regiment of Languedoc, that he left Brest last April twelvemonth; had since served at Lake Champlain, Crown Point and Carillon; was with General Dieskau last year at Lake George; that the French lost in that engagement, a great number of troops; that Ticonderoga at this time mounted thirty six pieces of cannon, viz. twelve eighteens, fifteen twelves, and nine eight pounders; that Crown Point was defended by eighteen pieces of cannon. the largest of which, were eighteens; that Mons. Montcalm's forces this year at Carillon, were 3000 regulars, and 2000 Canadians and Indians; that Gen. Montcalm himself was away with one battalion; that the force at Carillon consisted of five battalions, and 800 Canadians; that the Indians had all gone home; but 200 of them talked of returning to spend the winter at Carillon; that the advanced guard on the west side above the falls were all drawn in; and that on the east consisted of 600 men, who were to decamp on the first of November; that five battalions of infantry of the line, and sixty Canadian militia, lay encamped half a league from Carillon; and the remainder of the army were within the Fort; that the Barracks were sufficient for 500 men, whom he understood were to quarter there; that the enemy had one schooner and 200 batteaux

on Lake Champlain, and but five or six on Lake George; that Mons. the Chevalier Levi commanded in the Marquis Montcalm's absence, and that the Canadians were under the orders of Messrs. Corne and Columbie; that when the General went away, he said, 'he had done enough this year, and would take William Henry in the spring;' that the French had taken four of Rogers' whale boats on Lake Champlain; that when he was taken he was within a gun shot and a half of the French Fort, and that their camp was very healthy."

From this time we were constantly employed in patrolling the woods about Fort Edward, until Nov. 19, 1756, when we made an excursion down the Lake. Capt. Abercrombie aid-de-camp and nephew of the General, had the curiosity to accompany the expedition; and although nothing was effected excepting to obtain a view of the French garrison, he was delighted with the novelties of a scout; and with the romantic and noble scenery through which we conducted him. He treated us handsomely on our return to quarters at Fort Edward, on the evening of the 25th.

About this time, his Lordship drew off the main body of his troops from Fort Edward, to be quartered at Albany and New-York. Both armies now retired to winter quarters. The Rangers were stationed at Forts William Henry and Edward; and were augmented by two new companies under Captains Hobbs and Spikeman.* These two companies were posted at Fort William Henry—and our two at Fort Edward.

Capt. Richard Rogers was sent to New-England for recruits. He waited upon the Boston Government to obtain pay for our services in the winter of 1755, but could obtain none, though Lord Loudoun generously supported the justice of the claim.

* These companies came from Halifax.

January 15, 1757. Marched with Mr. Stark my Lieutenant, Ensign Page of Richard Rogers' company, and fifty privates to Fort Wm. Henry, where we were employed in providing provisions, snow shoes, &c. until the 17th, when being joined by Capt. Spikeman with Lieut. Kennedy, Ensign Brewer and 14 men of his corps, together with Ensign James Rogers with 20 men of Hobb's company, and Mr. Baker a volunteer of the 44th Regiment of the line, we proceeded down Lake George on the ice, and at night, encamped on the east side of the first narrows. Next morning some of our party who had become lame in consequence of the exertions of yesterday, were sent back. This reduced our numbers to seventy four men officers included.

The 18th encamped 12 miles down the Lake on the west side. 19th marched 3 miles down the lake, then took to the land with our snow shoes, travelled eight miles N. W. and encamped three miles from the Lake. 20th marched N. E. all day and encamped on the west side three miles from Lake Champlain.

January 21. We marched east, until we came to the Lake, half way between Crown Point, and Ticonderoga, where we discovered a sled passing from the latter to the former. Lieut. Stark with 20 men was directed to head the sled, while I with my party, cut off its retreat, leaving Spikeman with the centre. Ten other sleds were discovered following down the Lake; and I endeavoured to give Mr. Stark notice of it before he shew himself upon the Lake, but could not. He sallied out, and they hastily turned back towards Ticonderoga. We pursued them, took seven prisoners three sleds and six horses; the remainder escaped. The captives were examined separately, who reported: "that 200 Canadians and 45 Indians had just arrived at Ticonderoga, and were to be reinforced that evening

by 50 Indians from Crown Point; that there were 600 regular troops at that Fortress, and 350 at Ticonderoga, where they expected a large army who in the spring were to besiege our Forts; that they had large magazines of provisions, that the troops were well equipped and in condition to march at a moments warning, and intended to way lay and distress the convoys between our Forts." From this account of things and knowing that those who escaped would give immediate notice of us, I gave orders to march with all expedition, to the fires we had kindled the night before, and prepare for battle if offered, by drying our guns, it being a rainy day. This was accordingly effected. We then marched single file, myself and Lieut. Kennedy in front, Lieut. Stark in the rear and Captain Spikeman in the centre. Ensigns Page and Rogers between the front and centre;—and Mr. Brewer between the centre and rear, sergeant Walker having command of a rear guard.

In this manner, we advanced half a mile over broken ground, passed a valley of fifteen rods breadth, when the front having gained the summit of the opposite hill on the west side, fell in with the enemy drawn up in the form of a crescent to surround us, and were immediately saluted with a volley of 200 shot, at a distance of five yards from the nearest, and thirty yards from the rear of the party. This fire took place about 2 o'clock P. M. and proved fatal to Lieut. Kennedy, and Mr. Gardner a volunteer, besides wounding several, and myself in the head. I ordered my men to retire to the opposite hill, where Lieut. Stark and Mr. Brewer had made a stand with forty men to cover our retreat. We were closely pursued—Capt. Spikeman and others were killed and several made prisoners. Lieut. Stark repulsed them by a brisk fire from the hill, killing a number, and afford-

ing us an opportunity to post ourselves to advantage. Mr. Stark then took a position in the centre, with Ensign Rogers; sergeants Walker and Phillips* acting as reserves, to protect our flanks, and watch the enemy's motions. Soon after, we had thus formed for battle, the enemy attempted to flank us; but the reserve bravely attacked them, giving the first fire, which stopped several from retreating to the main body. We were then pushed closely in front, but having the advantage of the ground, and being sheltered by large trees, we maintained a continual fire upon them, which killed a number, and compelled the others to retire upon their main body. They attempted to flank us once more, but were again gallantly repulsed by our reserve. In this affair, Mr. Baker was killed.

We kept up a constant fire until sunset, when I received a shot through my wrist, which disabled me from loading my gun. The action however continued until darkness prevented our seeing each other. Our men gallantly kept their position till the fire of the enemy ceased and he retired.

The enemy during this action practised several stratagems to induce us to submit; sometimes assuring us, that they had a reinforcement at hand, which would cut us to pieces without mercy; and that it was a pity so many brave men should be lost; that in case of surrender, we should be treated with compassion; calling me by name, they assured me of their friendship and esteem; but the brave men who fought by my side, were neither to be dismayed by their threats, nor flattered by their professions, and determined to conquer, or die with arms in their hands.

*Phillips was a half Indian, he went to St. Francis with Rogers and brought back his party of 10 men by the same track by which they went out, and all reached home in safety, while so many other brave men were lost.

After the action, we had a great number so severely wounded that they could not travel without assistance; but as we were near to the French garrison, it was thought best to take advantage of the night, and retreat, which we did, keeping up the spirits of the wounded as well as possible, and reached Lake George six miles south of the French advanced guard, next morning. Our wounded men were now exhausted and could march no farther.—Lieutenant Stark* there volunteered with Thomas Burnside and another, to proceed to Fort William Henry, and procure sleighs for the wounded. They reached the Fort that night, and next morning the sleigh arrived though the distance was nearly forty miles. Lieut. Buckley of Hobb's corps of Rangers, came out with fifteen men, and met us at the first narrows of Lake George. Our party which consisted of forty eight effective, and six wounded men, arrived at William Henry with the prisoners the same evening, being the 23d of January, 1757.

Before the sleigh came to their relief, the party looking back on the ice, observed something black following at a distance; and supposing it might be one of their stragglers, the sleigh was sent back for him. He proved to be Joshua Martin of Goffstown, N. H. His hip joint had been shattered by a ball, which passed through his body, and he had been left for dead on the field of battle; but had recovered himself, followed his comrades tracks to the Lake, and after that kept in sight of them. He was so exhausted that he sunk down the moment the relief reached him. He was brought home to the Fort recovered of his wounds, served

* He travelled a distance of forty miles through the wilderness on snow shoes, and with great fatigue, reached the fort on the evening of the same day—when the party above named, was immediately dispatched to the assistance of Rogers and his wounded men. The snow was four feet deep upon a level.

through the war and died at Goffstown at an advanced age.

The number which attacked us amounted to 250 French and Indians. We afterwards had an account from the enemy that their loss of those killed on the spot, and who afterwards died of their wounds, amounted to 116 men. The officers and soldiers who survived the first onset, behaved with the most undaunted bravery, and vied with each other, which should excel in their respective stations.*

*RETURN of killed and wounded in the action of the
21st of January near Ticonderoga.*

CAPTAIN ROBERT ROGERS' COMPANY.

Capt. Robert Rogers, wounded ; Mr. Baker, volunteer, killed ; Mr. Gardiner, do. do. ; Thomas Henson, killed ; Sergeant Martin, wounded ; Will-

* In regard to the battle of January 21, 1757, the late venerable Mr. Shute. of Concord, N. H., remarked that Rogers did not act with his usual prudence. He states that after taking the sleds, a council of war advised to return by a different rout, from that by which the party came, which was the usual practice of the Rangers, and on this occasion, would have enabled them to escape the hazards of a battle. Rogers, however, said in regard to the enemy, that they would not DARE to pursue him, and took the same rout back. The first notice the Rangers had of the enemy was the noise in cocking their guns, which Shute supposed was one of the Rangers preparing to kill a partridge. He was himself struck senseless by a shot, which ploughed the top of his head ; on coming to himself, the first sight which met his eye, was one of the Rangers cutting off Rogers' cue to stop the hole in his wrist through which a shot had passed. On the night of their retreat, the Rangers made a circuit to avoid a large fire in the wood, supposing the Indians were there. This caused them to lose time, so that Joshua Martin who had kindled the fire to warm himself, was enabled to follow, and get in sight of them, on the lake ; otherwise, he must have perished.

iam Morris, missing ; Thomas Burnside, wounded ; Sergeant Henry, missing ; John Morrison, do.

Total,—3 killed ; 3 wounded ; 3 missing.

CAPTAIN RICHARD ROGERS' COMPANY.

Joseph Stevens, killed ; Benjamin Goodall, missing ; David Kimball, do. ; Ensign Caleb Page,* killed ; David Page, wounded.

Total,—2 killed ; 1 wounded ; 2 missing.

CAPTAIN HOBBS' COMPANY.

Sergeant Jonathan Howard, killed ; Phineas Kemp, do. ; John Edmunds, do. ; Thomas Farmer, do. ; Emanuel Lapartaquer, do.

Total,—5 killed ; none wounded ; none missing.

CAPTAIN SPIKEMAN'S COMPANY.

Capt. Spikeman, killed ; Lieut. Kennedy, do. ; Robert Avery, killed ; Thomas Brown, missing ; Samuel Fisk, killed ; Sergeant Moore, wounded ; John Cahall, do.

Total,—4 killed ; 2 wounded ; 1 missing.

Recapitulation. Killed—14 ; wounded—6 ; missing—6.†

Having forwarded this report to Major Sparks at Fort Edward, I wrote to Capt. Abercrombie at Albany, recommending such officers as were most deserving, to fill the vacancies occasioned by the late action, as follows ; Lieut. Stark to be Captain of Spikeman's corps ; and Sergeant Joshua Martin to be ensign of Richard Rogers' company. The following answer was received.

* Caleb Page was from Dunbarton, N. H.

† Those missing were taken prisoners.

Albany, Feb. 6th. 1757.

DEAR SIR,

The Gen. received your report by Maj. Sparks. He returns you and your men, thanks for your good behaviour ; and has recommended to my Lord Loudon, that they have payment for their prisoners. On receiving the account of your skirmish, we sent an express to Boston, recommending your brother James, for Lieutenant of Spikeman's company. Please send the names of the officers you recommend for your own company, and your recommendation shall be duly regarded. You cannot imagine how all ranks of people are pleased with your men's behaviour. I was so pleased with their appearance when I was out with them, that I took it for granted, they would behave well whenever they met the enemy. I am happy to learn that my expectations are answered.

I am sorry for Spikeman and Kennedy, as well as for the men you have lost ; but it is impossible to play at *bowls*, without meeting rubs. We must try to revenge the loss. Few persons will believe it, but, upon honour, I should have been glad to have been with you, that I might have learned the manner of fighting in this country. The chance of being shot is all stuff, and King William's principle is the best for the soldier, "that every bullet has its billet," and that it is allotted how every man shall die ; so that I am certain, that every one will agree that it is better to die with the reputation of a brave man, fighting for his country, in a good cause, than by shamefully running away, to preserve one's life, or by lingering out an old age, to die in one's bed, without having done his country and king any service.

The histories of this country, particularly, are full of the unheard of cruelties committed by the French, and the Indians at their instigation; where-

fore I think every brave man ought to do his utmost to humble that haughty nation, and reduce her bounds of conquest in this country, to narrow limits. When Gen. Abercrombie, receives his Lordship's instructions respecting the Rangers; I shall send you notice of it. In the mean time, I hope you'll get the better of your wound. As long as you and your men continue to behave so well, you may command,

Your most humble servant,

JAMES ABERCROMBIE

Aid-de-Camp.

TO CAPT. ROBERT ROGERS.

My wound growing worse, I repaired to Albany for medical aid, and there received from Gen. Abercrombie the following instructions.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR CAPT. ROBERT ROGERS.

His Excellency the Earl of Loudoun having given authority to me, to augment the companies of Rangers under your command to 100 men each, viz. one Captain, two Lieutenants, one Ensign upon English pay—

Four sergeants at 4s. each New York currency—and 100 privates at 2s. and 6d each, ditto. per day—

And whereas, certain privates are serving at present in your companies on higher pay, than the above establishment, you are at liberty to discharge them in case they refuse to serve under the new establishment, as soon as you have men to replace them. If they remain and serve, you may assure them, they will be noticed, and be the first provided for. Each man is to be allowed ten dollars bounty money, to find his own clothing, arms and blankets, and sign a paper subjecting himself to the articles of

war, and to serve during the war. You are to enlist no vagrants, but such as you and your officers are acquainted with, and who are every way qualified for the duty of Rangers. Complete the companies as soon as possible, and proceed to Fort Edward.

JAMES ABERCROMBIE, *Major General.*

At this time, I wrote Lord Loudoun soliciting his aid in obtaining from Government, an order for what was due to myself and my men, for our services in the winter of 1755. He replied that as these services were antecedent to his command, it was not in his power to reward them. Gen. Amherst afterwards gave me a similar answer. My men afterwards commenced suits and recovered judgments against me for £828: 3: 3. sterling, besides costs. I likewise lost my own services for that severe season; for all of which I have never received any consideration.

Capt. Hobbs died at this time, and Lieut. Bulkley of the same corps was named to his place.

March 5th. I suffered with the small pox,—which confined me till the 15th of April, during which time my officers were recruiting according to the instructions. Not long after the following letter was received.

New York, April 22, 1757.

SIR,

As another Ranger company has been sent to Albany with orders to proceed to our Forts, you will inform Col. Gage,* that it is Lord Loudoun's order that the two companies at Wm. Henry, and your own at Fort Edward, proceed immediately to Albany, and embark for this place. Shew this letter

*Afterwards Gen. Gage, Governor of Massachusetts, and commander of the British forces at Boston in 1774—5.

to Col. Gage, that he may inform Col. Monro of his Lordship's orders; and that quarters may be provided for your companies at Albany. See that your companies are well equipped, and are good men; if they are found insufficient, the blame will rest on you. If the officers of the new company are ignorant of the woods, about Wm. Henry, your brother must send some officers and men to inform him of the different scouting grounds.

I am Sir,

Your humble servant,

JAMES ABERCROMBIE,

Aid-de-Camp.

TO CAPT. ROBT. ROGERS, Albany.

Richard Rogers with his own, and Burgin's new company of Rangers from Jersey, being left at Wm. Henry, Stark's and Bulkley's from Wm. Henry, and my own from Fort Edward, proceeded to Albany, and thence to New York, where Shepard's new company from New Hampshire joined us. Here we embarked on board a transport, and left Sandy-Hook June 10, with a fleet of 100 sail, bound to Halifax where we soon arrived, and encamped on the Dartmouth side of the harbour, while the army lay on the Halifax side.

July 3. I went to Lawrencetown; thence to Schitzcook, where some of our men were employed to make hay in the meadows, for the use of the horses in the Louisburg Expedition;—others covered the haymakers, and others went upon scouts, one of which brought in two deserters of the 45th regiment. In the latter part of July, 40 Rangers were sent across the Isthmus of Nova Scotia to the settlements on the Bay of Fundy, and a party down the North West arm, to scour the woods for deserters, which brought in several both of the army and navy.

At this time Admiral Holbourn arrived with a fleet from England, with several regiments of troops on board, which were landed and encamped at Halifax. All the scouts were now called in; but certain intelligence being received, that a French fleet of superior force, had arrived at Louisburg, the intended expedition was laid aside, and the Rangers remanded to the western frontiers. While here, Admiral Holbourn exhibited a sample of summary justice, as practised in the navy. A countryman had sold a person attached to the squadron, produce to the amount of forty crowns; and knowing that the fleet was under sailing orders for the next day, and that the purchaser intended in that way, to cheat him out of the whole sum, came on board, and stated his case to the Admiral; who sending for the individual, spoke as follows:—"You owe this man forty crowns Sir—do you see that yard arm—make out his money in 20 minutes, or you swing there." The money was immediately paid.

Numbers of the Rangers were carried off this summer, by the small pox and several of my officers were sent on the recruiting service. We once more embarked for New York, and proceeded up Hudson river in small vessels, where my recruits soon arrived. We then proceeded to Fort Edward which was now the only cover to the northern frontiers of New York and the more eastern provinces, Fort Wm. Henry* having been taken in August previous by the French.

* My brother Richard died of the small pox a few days before the siege; but the enemy after their conquest, had the cruelty and ferocity, to dig him up and scalp him. In consequence of the articles of capitulation, the two companies of Rangers were disbanded and dismissed.

When the French took Fort William Henry, they were rather more favourable with Samuel Blodget the Sutler of the garrison, whom they found concealed under a batteau, than they were with the remains of Capt. Rogers. They suffered him to go about his business, after plundering him of every thing but his scalp. He

The capture of William Henry, was more than once attempted by the French. Longee the famous French partisan endeavoured to effect a surprise on the night of March 17, 1757, while the Irish portion of the garrison were engaged in a drunken carouse. It was however defended by the vigilance of the Rangers, who repulsed the French, while the other troops were coming to their senses.* Several attempts were made upon the Fort, while the Earl of Loudoun was engaged in his Louisburg expedition; and finally on the 2d of August 1757, it was closely invested by a large army of French and Indians, under the Marquis de Montcalm the French Commander in Chief, and Governor General of Canada. At this time, an English army of 6000 men lay at Fort Edward within 15 miles under Gen. Webb.† This force with the talents of Howe to have directed its operations, would have proved an over match for the French, and perhaps furnished them with a second edition of Dieskau. But no succour being afforded to the garrison, after a brave defence of six days, in which their Fort was rendered by the enemy's shot, no longer tenable, and most of their guns bursted, they surrendered on condition of quarter; which condition was shamefully broken by the enemy, and many of the prison-

was never partial to the military service afterwards; but became a considerable merchant, a Judge, and was the first projector of the canal at Amoskeag falls on Merrimack River. He lived to a great age, and died at the Falls, universally respected as an enterprising and public spirited citizen.

* See Stark's Memoirs.

† Sir Wm. Johnson was at this time at Fort Edward, and urged Gen. Webb to relieve the place. The troops were once paraded, but ordered back to quarters by Webb, who sent a message to Col. Monro advising a capitulation.

ers led away and massacred by the savages. Previous to the expedition against Wm. Henry, ten Sachems had been despatched as messengers to the North Western tribes, to invite them to become the allies of the French. In consequence of this summons, a tribe called the Cold Country Indians appeared at the siege. By these cannibals many of the prisoners were slain and eaten.* Two of them seized a lad named Copp and were leading him away by the shirt sleeves. His cries caught the attention of Benjamin Richards one of the Rangers a bold athletic man, who rushed after them, and snatched away the boy, leaving the shirt sleeves in their hands.†

General Webb now commanded Fort Edward, and kept the Rangers continually employed patrolling the woods between Fort Edward, and Ticonderoga. Lord Howe accompanied us in one of those scouts, being desirous of learning our method of marching, ambushing, and retreating; and on our return, expressed his good opinion of us very generously.

Lord Loudoun now added a number of volunteers from the regulars to our corps, to be trained to the wood service, under my inspection, to be employed hereafter as light infantry. Some of them belonged to the celebrated 42d Regiment of Highlanders. §

*The Journal of a French officer who served under Montcalm, was afterwards taken in the West Indies, which stated that the Indians roasted several of their English captives, and compelled the survivors to partake in the horrid banquet. [Hutch. His.]

†Col. Bailey was pursued by these savages, and ran barefooted through the woods, to Fort Edward 15 miles.

§This gallant Regiment 35 years afterwards repulsed the French on the shores of Aboukir, and covered the landing of Sir Ralph Abercrombie's army in Egypt.

These volunteers were formed into a company by themselves, under my immediate orders. For their benefit, I reduced to writing several rules, and a plan of discipline, of which, experience had taught me the necessity.*

Dec. 1, 1757. Lord Loudoun visited Fort Edward, and after giving directions for quartering the army, left a strong garrison under the command of Col. Haviland, and returned to Albany. The Rangers and their volunteers, were quartered in huts upon an island in the Hudson, near Fort Edward; and were employed in various scouts, which my health did not permit me to accompany until Dec. 17, 1757, when by order of Col. Haviland, I marched with 150 men, to reconnoitre Carillon, and if possible, to take a prisoner. We advanced six miles in a snow storm and encamped, the snow being then three inches deep, and before morning it fell to the depth of fifteen. We however pursued our route.

Dec. 18. Eight of my party being fatigued and unwell, returned to camp, the remainder proceeding nine miles, to the east side of Lake George, near the place where Mons. Montcalm landed his troops, when he captured Wm. Henry. Here we discovered a large quantity of cannon balls, and shells, which had on that occasion, been concealed by the French, and made a mark to enable us to find them again.

This was our first visit to William Henry, since our return from Halifax. Here we had enjoyed many of the pleasures belonging to a soldier's life. We had left the post in April occupied by a fine garrison, supplied with every thing they could desire for their comfort and convenience; we now found it a deserted mass of ruin, covered with half burnt rafters, and fragments of exploded cannon.—

*See Appendix.

In the pine woods back of the Fort, the graves of the enemy, distinguished by their rough head stones, and now and then, a Catholic cross cut upon a board, at the head of a grave, informed us that their conquest was not cheaply purchased. After examining the situation of French Camp, during the siege, and their approaches, we cleared away the snow under one of the mounds of the Fort, kindled a fire, posted our sentinels, and passed a comfortable night in the ruins.

Dec. 19. Continued our march on the west side of the Lake, nine miles to the head of North-west Bay.

Dec. 21. So many of our party became tired and returned, as to reduce our force to 123 men, officers included. Marching ten miles further, we encamped for the night. Here each man was ordered to leave one day's provision.

Dec. 22. Marched ten miles and encamped near the great brook, running into Lake George, eight miles from the French advanced guard.

Dec. 23. Proceeded eight miles—the next day, six more, and halted 600 yards from Carillon.—Near the mills were discovered five Indian tracks, which had been made the day before, as we supposed by a hunting party. On our march this day, between the advanced guard and the Fort, three places of rendezvous were appointed, in case of our being broken in action. I informed the officers and soldiers that I should rally the party at the nearest post to the Fort, and if broken there, retreat to the second, and at the third make a stand until night should afford an opportunity of retiring in safety. The road from the Fort to the woods, was now ambushed by an advanced party of 20 men, and a rear guard of 15. At eleven o'clock a sergeant of marines came from the Fort, up the road, to my advanced party, who suffered him to pass to the main body, which se-

cured him. He reported the garrison at "350 regulars, 50 artificers and 5 Indians ; that they had plenty of provisions, &c. &c. and that twelve masons were employed blowing rocks in the entrenchments with a number of soldiers to assist them ; that Crown Point was garrisoned by 150 regulars and 14 Indians ; that the Marquis de Montcalm was at Montreal ; that 500 Ottawawa Indians wintered in Canada ; that 500 Rangers had lately been raised in Canada, and were commanded by an experienced officer well acquainted with the country ; he did not know that the French intended an attack upon our Forts this winter ; but that they expected a large body of Indians as soon as the ice would bear them, to go down to the English Forts ; and that all the bakers in Carillon were employed in making biscuit for these scouts."

About noon a Frenchman came near us, on his return from hunting, when a party was ordered to pursue to the edge of the cleared ground, take him prisoner, at the same time to fire a gun or two, and retreat to the main body ; hoping by this stratagem, to entice the enemy from their post. The orders were promptly obeyed, but no one ventured out. The last prisoner gave the same information as the first, and also, that he had heard the English intended to attack Ticonderoga, as soon as the Lake was frozen hard enough to bear them."

Finding that the enemy would not come out to give us battle, we went about killing their cattle, of which seventeen head were destroyed, and set fire to the wood they had collected for the use of the garrison, by which five large piles were consumed. The French discharged some cannon shot at those who kindled the fires, but did them no injury. At eight o'clock in the evening, we commenced our march, and with the prisoners, reached Fort Edward Dec. 27th. On our return, we found at the

north end of Lake George, the boats the French had taken at William Henry, and a great many cannon balls concealed ; but as the boats were under water, we could not destroy them. On my return from the last scout, I was ordered down to New-York, to confer with Lord Loudoun, upon the subject of augmenting the Rangers. He gave me a friendly reception, and the following instructions.

“ By his Excellency John Earl of Loudoun, Lord Machline and Tairenseen, &c. &c. one of the sixteen Peers of Scotland, Captain General of Virginia, and Vice Admiral of the same ; Colonel of the 13th Regiment of foot, Colonel in Chief of the Royal American Regiment, Major General, and Commander in Chief of all his Majesty’s forces raised, or to be raised in North America.*

Whereas, I have thought proper to augment the Rangers with five additional companies ; viz. four from New England, and one Indian company, to be forthwith raised and employed in his Majesty’s service ; and having entire confidence in your knowledge of the men fit for that service, I therefore by these presents, empower you to raise such a number of non commissioned officers and privates, as will complete the companies upon the following establishment, viz. each company to consist of one Captain, two Lieutenants, one Ensign, four Sergeants, and 100 privates.

The officers are to receive British pay ; that is, the same as officers of the like rank in the line ; the sergeants 4s. New York currency, and the privates 2s. 6d. per day. One month’s pay for each of said companies shall be advanced, on condition

*His Lordship’s titles, remind us of the Spanish traveller, for whose company of names, the landlord could not find room in his house.

that it is to be deducted from the first warrants which shall be issued hereafter, for the subsistence of said companies. The men are to provide themselves with good blankets, and warm clothing, the same to be uniform in each company. They will supply their own arms, which must bear inspection. The Indians are to be dressed in their own costume ; and all are subject to the articles of war. You will despatch the officers appointed to these companies, immediately upon the recruiting service, with directions to enlist none for a less term than one year, nor any other, than able bodied men, accustomed to the woods, good hunters, and every way qualified for Rangers. They are all required to be at Fort Edward, on or before the 15th of March next, and are to be mustered by the officer commanding the Garrison.

Given under my hand at New York, the
11th day of January 1758.

LOUDOUN.

By his Excellency's command.

J. APPY.

TO CAPT. ROBERT ROGERS.

In pursuance of the above instructions, officers were despatched to the New England colonies, and the levy completed on the 4th of March.

Four of the companies were sent to Louisburg to join General Amherst,* and the other remained with me. I was at the whole expense of raising these companies, for which I never received any allowance, and one Captain dying, to whom I had delivered 1000 dollars, as advanced pay, which by the instructions I had a right to do, I was compel-

*General Amherst for his services in America, was elevated to the Peerage and appointed Commander in Chief of the British Forces.

led to account to the Government for the same, for which I never received a farthing.*

On the 28th of February, Colonel Haviland who commanded Fort Edward, ordered a scout under one Putnam, who commanded a company of Connecticut provincials, together with some of my men, giving out publickly that upon Putnam's return, I should be sent to the French Forts with 400 Rangers. This was known to the officers and soldiers at the time of Putnam's departure.

While this party was out, a servant of Mr. Best, our Sutler was taken by a flying party from Ticonderoga, and one of Putnam's men deserted to the enemy. Putnam returned informing us that 600 Indians lay not far from the enemy's quarters.

March 10, 1758. I was ordered by Col. Haviland to the neighbourhood of Ticonderoga, not with 400 men, as was at first given out, but with 180, officers included. We had one Captain, one Lieut. and one Ensign of the line as volunteers viz. Messrs. Creed, Kent, and Wrightson; also one Sergeant, and one private, all of the 27th Regiment; a detachment from the four companies of Rangers quartered on the island near Fort Edward; viz. Capt. Bulkley, Lieutenants Phillips, Moore, Campbell, Crafton and Pottinger; Ensigns Ross, Waite, McDonald, and White with 162 privates. I ac-

*Speaking of his financial concerns, puts us in mind of the following anecdote of Rogers. While in garrison at Fort Edward, in the winter of 1757—8 two British officers half seas over, or sufficiently so to be very affectionate and patriotic, were one evening lamenting the misfortunes of their country, occasioned by her enormous debt. Rogers coming in, and learning the cause of their trouble, told them to give themselves no more uneasiness about the matter, as he would pay half of the debt, and a friend of his the remainder, and thus clear the nation at once of her difficulties. The officers treated the Captain, and pronounced him the nation's benefactor. Hence the saying, "to pay one's debts as Rogers did that of the nation."

knowledge that I entered upon this service, with this small detachment of brave men, with no small uneasiness of mind. We had every reason to believe that the prisoner and deserter above named, had informed the enemy of our intended expedition, and the force to be employed; yet my commander knowing all this, sent us out with 180 men. He probably had his reasons; and can doubtless justify his conduct; but that is no consolation to the friends of those brave men, who were thus thrown in the way of an enemy, of three times their number, and of whom one hundred and seven never returned to tell their story. We first marched to the Half-way brook, in the road leading to Lake George, and there encamped for the night.

March 11. Proceeded as far as the first narrows of Lake George, and encamped that evening on the east shore. After dark, a party was sent three miles down, to ascertain if the enemy were coming towards our Forts, who returned without discovering them. We however were upon our guard, and kept parties walking upon the Lake all night, besides sentries at all necessary places on shore.

March 12. Left our camp at sunrise, and having made about three miles, perceived a dog running across the Lake, and sent a party to reconnoitre the island, supposing the Indians were there in ambush. But not finding any, it was thought proper to take to the shore, and thus prevent our being discovered from the surrounding hills. We halted at a place called Sabbath day point, on the west shore, and sent out parties to look down the Lake, with perspective glasses. As soon as dark, we proceeded down the Lake. Lieut. Phillips with 15 men, some of whom, preceded him on skates, acted as an advanced guard, while Ensign Ross flanked us on the left, under the west shore, near which we kept the main body, marching as closely as possible, to

prevent separation, the night being extremely dark. In this manner we came within 8 miles of the French advance, when Mr. Phillips sent back a man on skates to desire me to halt ; upon this, the men were ordered to sit down upon the ice. Mr. Phillips soon after came to me, informing that he had discovered what he supposed a fire on the east shore, but was uncertain. I sent him accompanied by Mr. White, to ascertain the fact. They returned in an hour, fully persuaded that a party of the enemy were encamped at the place. The advanced guard was then called in, and we marched to the west shore, where in a thicket we concealed our sleighs* and packs.

Leaving a small guard with our baggage, we marched to attack the enemy's encampment if we should find one. On reaching the place where we supposed the fire† had been seen, and finding no enemy, we concluded Mr. Phillips had mistaken some patches of snow, or pieces of rotten wood for fire, (which in the night, and at a distance resembles it) we therefore returned to our packs, and passed the night without fire.

On the morning of the 13th, a council of the officers determined that our better course was to proceed by land on snow shoes, lest the enemy should discover us on the lake. Accordingly we continued our march on the western shore, keeping on the back of the mountains which overlooked the French advanced guard, and halted at 12 o'clock

*These sleighs were pieces of split wood, shaved thin, about 16 inches wide, and six feet long, turned up in front, so as to slide easily over the snow, with two arms and a cross piece to draw them by.

†We afterwards learned that a scout of Frenchmen had a fire here at the time, but on discovering my advanced party, put it out, and carried the news of our approach to their Fort.

two miles west of them, where we refreshed ourselves until three. This was to afford the day scout from the Fort, time to return home before we advanced, as our intention was to ambush some of the roads leading to the Fort that night, in order to trepan the enemy in the morning. Our detachment now advanced in two divisions, the one headed by Capt. Bulkley, and the other by myself. Ensigns White and Waite led the rear guard, the other officers being properly posted with their respective divisions. On our left, at a small distance, we were flanked by a rivulet, and by a steep mountain on the right. Our main body kept close under the mountain, that the advanced guard might better observe the brook, on the ice of which, they might travel, as the snow was now four feet deep, which made the travelling very bad even with snow shoes. In this manner, we proceeded a mile and a half, when our advance informed that the enemy were in sight; and soon after, that his force consisted of ninety six, chiefly Indians. We immediately threw down our knapsacks and prepared for battle, supposing that the whole of the enemy's force, were approaching our left, upon the ice of the rivulet. Ensign McDonald was ordered to take command of the advanced guard, which as we faced to the left, became a flanking party to our right. We marched within a few yards of the bank, which was higher than the ground we occupied; and observing the ground gradually descend from the rivulet, to the foot of the mountain, we extended our line along the bank, far enough to command the whole of the enemy at once. Waiting until their front was nearly opposite our left wing; I fired a gun as a signal for a general discharge. We gave them the first fire, which killed more than forty and put the remainder to flight, in which one half of my men pursued, and cut down several more of them

with their hatchets and cutlasses. I now imagined they were totally defeated, and ordered Ensign McDonald to head the flying remains of them, that none of them should escape. He soon ascertained that the party we had routed, was only the advanced guard of 600 Canadians and Indians, who were now coming up to attack the Rangers. The latter now retreated to their own ground, which was gained at the expense of fifty men killed. There they were drawn up in good order, and fought with such intrepidity, keeping up a constant and well directed fire, as caused the French, though seven to one in number, to retreat a second time. We however being in no condition to pursue, they rallied again, recovered their lost ground, and made a desperate attack upon our front, and wings; but they were so warmly received, that their flanking parties soon retreated to their main body with great loss. This threw the whole into confusion, and caused a third retreat. Our numbers were now too far reduced, to take advantage of their disorder, and rallying again, they attacked us a fourth time.

Two hundred Indians were now discovered ascending the mountain on the right, to possess themselves of the rising ground, and fall upon our rear. Lieut. Phillips with 18 men was directed to gain possession of it before them, and drive the Indians back. He succeeded in gaining the summit, and repulsed them by a well directed fire, in which every bullet killed its man. I now became alarmed lest the enemy should go round on our left, and take post on the other part of the hill; and sent Lieut. Crafton with 15 men to anticipate them. Soon after I sent two gentlemen* who were volunteers, with

*These gentlemen were both officers of the line, and went out with the party as volunteers, being desirous to witness the novelty of an Indian fight. I had previously requested them to retire and offered a sergeant to conduct them. They at first accepted

a few men to support him, which they did with great bravery.

The enemy pressed us so closely in front, that the parties were sometimes intermixed, and in general not more than 20 yards asunder. A constant fire continued for an hour and a half, from the commencement of the attack, during which time we lost eight officers and 100 privates killed upon the spot. After doing all that brave men could do, the Rangers were compelled to break, each man looking out for himself. I ran up the hill followed by 20 men, towards Phillips and Crafton, where we stopped and gave the Indians who were pursuing in great numbers, another fire which killed several, and wounded others. Lieut. Phillips was at this time, about capitulating for himself and his party, being surrounded by 300 Indians. We came so near, that he spoke to me, and said if the enemy would give good quarters, he thought best to surrender, otherwise he would fight while he had one man left to fire a gun.*

†I now retreated, with the remainder of my party,

the offer, but being unused to snow shoes, unacquainted with the woods, and seeing us closely beset by the Indians, painted in the most hideous manner, and making the mountains ring with their horrid yells, like gallant men, came back to our assistance. What befel them after our flight, may be seen in a letter from Captain Creed to the commandant of Fort Edward, which will appear at the end of this scout.

*This unfortunate officer and his party after the strongest assurances of good treatment, by the French and Indians, were tied to trees, and hewn to pieces in the most barbarous and shocking manner.

†It was on this occasion, that Rogers escaped with his party, as the Indians supposed, by sliding down a sloping eminence of 100 feet to the Lake below. He was at this time closely pressed by his enemies, and with difficulty gained the Lake; but whether by sliding down this frightful precipice, or how otherwise, he has not informed us in his book. The place is now pointed out to travellers under the name of "Rogers' slide."

in the best manner possible; several who were wounded and fatigued, were taken by the savages who pursued our retreat. We reached Lake George in the evening where we were joined by several wounded men, who were assisted, to the place where our sleighs had been left. From this place, an express was despatched to Colonel Haviland, for assistance to bring in the wounded. We passed the night here without fire, or blankets, they having fallen into the enemy's hands with our knapsacks. The night was extremely cold, and the wounded men suffered much pain, but behaved in a manner consistent with their conduct in the action. In the morning, we proceeded up the Lake, and at Hoop Island six miles north of William Henry, met Capt. John Stark coming to our relief, bringing with him provisions, blankets, and sleighs. We encamped on the Island, passed the night, with good fires, and on the evening of the next day, (March 15) arrived at Fort Edward.

The number of the enemy which attacked us, was 700, of which 600 were Indians. From the best accounts, we afterwards learned that we killed 150 of them, and wounded as many more, most of whom died. I will not pretend to say what would have been the result of this unfortunate expedition, had our numbers been 400 strong, as was contemplated; but it is due to those brave officers and men who accompanied me, most of whom are now no more, to declare that every man in his respective station, behaved with uncommon resolution and coolness,* nor

* The Major in his compliments to the officers and soldiers, appears to have forgotten one individual whose good qualities, and faithful services, deserve a particular notice. This was Sergeant Beaubier a famous Wolfe Dog owned by Capt. Wm. Stark. He used to accompany his master on all his expeditions;—was present in several Indian fights, and it was said, assisted in the destruction of more of them, than any individual of the Corps. The wags used to say, that the Captain returned him on his pay roll, and drew pay and rations.

do I recollect an instance, during the action, in which the prudence or good conduct of one of them could be questioned.*

*RETURN of killed and wounded in the action of
March 13th, 1758.*

The Captain and Lieutenant of the regular troops acting as volunteers were made prisoners. The Ensign, a sergeant and one private, all volunteers from the same Regiment, were killed.

CAPT. ROBERT ROGERS' COMPANY.

Lieut. Moore, sergeant Parnell, and 36 privates killed.

CAPT. SHEPARD'S COMPANY.

Two sergeants and 16 privates killed.

CAPT. JAMES ROGERS' COMPANY.

Ensign McDonald, killed.

CAPT. JOHN STARK'S COMPANY.

Two sergeants and 14 privates, killed.

CAPT. BULKLEY'S COMPANY.

Capt. Bulkley, Lieut. Pottinger, Ensign White, killed—47 privates killed and missing.

*The only person whose conduct appears censurable, was Col. Haviland commanding Fort Edward, for sending so small a force when he had every reason to believe the enemy were apprised of his intentions, and would without doubt, have a superior force in readiness to compel the Rangers to an engagement under every disadvantage.

CAPT. WM. STARK'S COMPANY.

Ensign Ross, killed.

CAPT. BREWER'S COMPANY.

Lieut. Campbell killed.

Soon after this affair, the following letter was received by the commandant at Fort Edward, from one of the volunteers who had fallen into the enemy's hands.

Carillon, March 28, 1758.

DEAR SIR,

As a flag of truce is daily expected here, with an answer to Mons. Vaudreuil, I embrace the first moment I have been able to write, to inform you and our friends at Fort Edward, of the situation of myself and Mr. Kent whom you probably reckoned among the slain, in our unfortunate rencontre of the 13th concerning which, I shall not be particular at present, only to do justice to those who fell, and those who escaped. I assure you that such dispositions were made by the enemy, who discovered us long before, that a party weak as ours, could not hope for even a retreat. Towards the conclusion of the affair we were called to retire to a rising ground on our right, where after scrambling with some difficulty, being unaccustomed to snow shoes, I found Capt. Rogers, and told him that to retire further was impossible, and desired that our men might be collected, and a stand made where we then were. Mr. Rogers being of the same opinion, desired me to maintain one side of the hill, while he defended the other. Our parties did not exceed 12 men each, and mine was shifting towards the mountain, leaving me unable to defend my post, or to labour with them up the hill. Capt. Rogers now came to me,

and informed that a large body of Indians had ascended the hill on our right, and that I must retire with Mr. Kent; and he would send a sergeant to conduct us through the mountain. Prudence required us to accept the offer, but one of my snow shoes being untied, I knew myself unable to march so fast, as was requisite to avoid becoming a sacrifice to an enemy we could no longer oppose. I therefore begged Capt R. to save himself; and leaning against a rock in the path, determined to submit to a fate, I considered unavoidable. Unfortunately for Mr. K. his snow shoes became loose which obliged him to remain with me. Every instant we expected the savages, and what induced them to quit the path, in which we actually saw them approaching, I cannot conceive, unless they changed it for a shorter one to intercept those who had just left us. By their shouts, and making a fire, we supposed they had found the rum in the Rangers' knapsacks. This thought and the approach of night gave us the first hopes of retiring. When the moon arose, we stole quietly away, marching southward along the mountains, for three hours, until we came to ice. This gave us reason to hope that our difficulties were at an end, little dreaming that we had yet enemies to combat, more cruel than the savages we had escaped. We marched all night and on the morning of the 14th saw at a distance a man, who came towards us. He proved to be a servant of Captain Rogers, with whom he had often travelled over this country: he without hesitation, informed us we were upon South Bay; that Wood Creek was just before us; that he knew the way to Fort Anne very well, and would take us to Fort Edward next day. Notwithstanding our hopes of being upon Lake George were disappointed, our guide confirmed our confidence in him, by bringing us to a

creek, where he shew the tracks of Indians, and the path he said they had taken to Fort Anne. After struggling several hours through the snow, we were obliged to halt and make snow shoes, as our guide and Mr. K. had left theirs, upon reaching the ice.

Here we remained all night, without blankets, with no coats, and but a single vest each, for I had given one of mine to Mr. K. who had cast off his green jacket, in the field, as I did likewise, my fur cap, which had become a mark to the enemy, and occasioned me a wound in the face. I had therefore but a single handkerchief on my head, and our fire was small, as we had no hatchet to cut wood. Before morning, we contrived with forked sticks and strings of leather, a sort of snow shoes to prevent sinking entirely. On the 15th we followed our guide west all day; but he did not fulfil his promise; however the next day he said it was impossible to fail; but the 16th also passed without success. Yet still we were patient, as the guide appeared well acquainted with the way, for he gave every mountain a name, and shew several places where his master had either killed deer, or encamped. The nature of the ground, or the want of sunshine, induced us to incline southward and we saw ice at several miles distance through an opening in the woods on the side of the hill.

I was now positive that after marching two days west of South Bay, Lake George could not lie south east of us, and concluded this to be the upper end of the bay we had left. For this reason, with the assurances of the guide, I advised to continue our course west, which must bring us to Fort Anne or some place with which we were acquainted. But Mr. Kent wished to be upon ice at all events, as he was unable to continue in the snow, the difficulties of the march having overcome him. As our snow shoes continued breaking, and causing us to sink to

the middle every fifty paces; the scrambling up mountains full of dangerous holes and chasms, the interruptions of fallen timber, our nights without sleep or covering, and but little fire obtained with great labour; our sustenance water, and the bark and berries of trees; for all our provisions in the first place, were a Bologna sausage and a little ginger; all these circumstance induced me to yield to Mr. K's desire; but as the guide was confident that Fort Anne was near, we concluded to search a little longer. Next morning the guide informed us that he had discovered that fort Anne was near, and I was inclined to follow him, for I was certain that the best we could hope from descending to the ice, would be to throw ourselves into the arms of the French. The whole day of the 17th we marched along a dreadful road, between the mountains, with but one good snow shoe each. The 18th brought us to the ice, and the first sight informed that we had left the very same place five days before. Here my resolution almost failed me; while fatigue, cold, hunger, and the prospect of perishing in the woods, attended us, I still had hopes and gave encouragement to the others; but now I was in want of it myself. Our only alternative now, was to throw ourselves into the hands of the French, or to perish. Our stock of food was exhausted, and we were not so fortunate as to see beast or bird to shoot at. When our thoughts had become more collected, we conceived hopes that by appearing before the French Fort with a white flag, the commander would relieve and return us to Fort Edward.

I knew Carillon commanded an extensive view up South Bay, and therefore concluded to halt during the evening, and march in the night, that we might approach the Fort in the morning. But the wind now blowing hard, pierced us like a sword, and a freezing rain that incruited our clothes with

ice, compelled our party to wait until morning.

On the 19th we found some juniper berries which revived our strength. We now proposed taking advantage of a dark snowy day, to approach Carillon, designing to pass it in the night, and reach Lake George—with difficulty the guide was persuaded to be of our opinion; he was promised large rewards but in vain, until I assured him of provisions hid upon the Lake shore. We travelled a few miles, but the snow was soon up to our knees, and driving full in our faces, made every thing appear as dark as the fogs upon the Banks of Newfoundland. As the storm cleared up we looked in vain for the Fort. Proceeding onward by land, we came to a large waterfall. I attempted to ford the stream above it, and had almost gained the opposite shore, where the water reached my breast, when the rapidity of the stream hurried me off the slippery rocks, and plunged me under water. I lost my fusee, and narrowly escaped being carried over the fall. Mr. K. and the guide fared no better; but the hopes of reaching a fire, made us think lightly of the matter. As night approached, we laboured through the snow, being now certain that the Fort was near; but our guide now confessed for the first time, that he was at a loss. We plainly perceived that his brain was affected; he saw Indians all around him, and though we have since learned, that we had every thing to fear from them, yet that was a danger we did not think of. We even shouted to give notice where we were; but could neither see nor hear of any one to lead us right. If we halted, we became pillars of ice. We therefore resolved to make a fire, though the danger was apparent. We had one dry cartridge on hand, but in trying to catch a fire with a little of it, by means of my pistol, Mr. K. held the cartridge so near as to have it blow up in our faces, almost

blinding him, and causing great pain. This appeared to be the last stroke of fortune; we had now no hopes of fire, and were not anxious for life; but wished to carry the scene out, in a manner becoming soldiers. We made a path round a tree, and there exercised all night, though scarcely able to stand, or to prevent each other from sleeping.— Our guide notwithstanding repeated cautions, strayed from us, sat down, and died immediately.

On the morning of the 20th we saw the Fort; and approached it with a white flag. The officers ran violently towards us, and we were saved from a danger we did not apprehend, for we were informed that if the Indians, who were close after them, had siezed us first, it would not have been in the power of the French, to have prevented our being hurried to the camp, and perhaps the next day to Montreal, or killed for not being able to march. Monsieur Debencourt and his officers treat us with humanity and politeness. They appear to be solicitous for our recovery, which progresses slowly after all these difficulties. In being thus prolix, we wish to convince you Sir, that nothing but the situation I have faithfully described, could have determined us in the resolution, which appeared but one degree preferable to perishing in the woods.

I shall make no further comment upon these distresses. The malicious will say, that we brought them upon ourselves; but let them not add that they were deserved, because we were unsuccessful. It must be allowed, that we could not have been led abroad at such a season, of snow and ice, to encounter the difficulties of the wilderness, in this frozen climate, by the desire of amusement, or to gratify an idle curiosity. You, Sir, approved of our reasons, and I hope, will defend them. The same would induce me as a volunteer, to try the chance of war to-morrow, if an opportunity should offer.

I hold it the duty of a soldier, to omit no opportunity of making himself acquainted with the different modes of warfare, which are necessary for the defence of His Majesty's dominions. We know you too well, Sir, to harbour a doubt of receiving justice in regard to this affair, or our promotion in the Regiment. We beg that the General will have us restored as soon as possible, or at least prevent our being sent to France, and perhaps separated from you during the war.

We learn here that we were upon no other ice than that of Lake George, but the day overtaking us on the 14th in the place where we had first made the lake, we were compelled to put confidence in our guide, whose head was astray from the beginning; or he could not so grossly have mistaken a place, where he had so often been upon scouts. We had no doubt that we parted for South Bay on the 14th. If our course had been continued west, we must undoubtedly have perished in the wilderness; but Providence brought us back against our judgment.

Respectfully,
JAS. CREED.

On my return from this scout, I was ordered to Albany, to recruit my company, where I met with a friendly reception from Lord Howe, who advanced money to recruit the Rangers, and gave me leave to wait upon Gen. Abercrombie at New York. The latter had now succeeded to the chief command in the place of Lord Loudoun, who was about to embark for England. At this time, I received the following commission,

By his Excellency James Abercrombie, Esquire, Colonel of His Majesty's 44th Regiment of Foot, Colonel in Chief of the 60th Royal Americans, Major General and Commander in Chief of all His Majesty's forces raised or to be raised in North America.

Whereas it may be of great use to His Majesty's service in America, to have a number of men employed in obtaining intelligence, of the strength, situation, and motions of the enemy, and other services for which Rangers only are qualified. Having, therefore, the greatest confidence in your loyalty, courage and skill, I do hereby constitute you Major of the Rangers in His Majesty's service, and Captain of a company of the same. You are therefore to take the said Rangers as Major, and said Company as Captain, into your care, and duly exercise, and instruct, as well the officers as the soldiers, who are hereby commanded to obey you as Major and Captain respectively. And you are to observe such orders as from time, to time, you shall receive from His Majesty, myself, or other superior officer, according to the rules and discipline of war.

Given at New-York this 6th day of April 1758, in the 31st year of our Sovereign Lord George II. King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the faith, &c.

JAMES ABERCROMBIE.

By his Excellency's command.

J. APPY.

TO CAPT. ROBERT ROGERS.

April 12. Reported myself to Lord Howe at Albany, and had a long conversation, with him upon the different modes of distressing the enemy, and prosecuting the war with vigour, the ensuing cam-

paign. I then proceeded to Fort Edward to take orders from Col. Grant who then commanded that post. Capt. Stark was despatched to Ticonderoga, on the west side of Lake George, Captain Jacob, alias *Nawawapateonks* on the east side, and Captain Shepard between the Lakes, with directions to take some prisoners from Carillon. At the same time, I marched with 18 men for Crown Point. Capt. Burbank was also detached in quest of prisoners. These scouts were kept constantly out to discover any parties of the enemy and to reconnoitre their motions and force, from time to time.

April 29. Marched with 18 men, from Fort Edward, up the road that leads to Fort Wm. Henry, 4 miles, and encamped at Schoon Creek, the weather being rainy.

April 30. Proceeded north east, and encamped by South Bay.

May 1. Encamped near the narrows north of South Bay.

May 2. Made a raft, crossed the Lake, and encamped four miles from it on the east side.

May 3. Steered north and encamped three miles from Carillon.

May 4. Marched north east all day, and encamped 3 miles from Crown Point.

May 5. Killed a Frenchman and took three prisoners.

May 6. Commenced our return, and reached Camp with our prisoners on the 9th.

One of the prisoners reported that he was a native of Lorraine in France; that he had been eight years in Canada, viz. two at Quebec, one at Montreal, and five at Crown Point; that at the latter place were 200 soldiers, of which Monsieur le Jonang was Commander; that at Ticonderoga were 400 of the Queen's Regiment, 150 marines, 200 Canadians, and 700 Indians; and that they expected 300 more;—

that they did not intend to attack our Forts this summer, but were preparing to receive us at Ticonderoga ; that they had heard that Rogers and most of his party were killed in the conflict of last March ; but by some prisoners taken by the Indians at Dutch Hoosack, they were informed that Rogers was yet alive, and had sworn to revenge the barbarity with which his men had been treated, particularly Lieut. Phillips and his party, who were butchered in cold blood, by them, after they had been promised quarter. This was talked of among the Indians, who blamed the French for encouraging them to do so."

Captains Stark and Jacob had returned on the 8th. The former brought in six prisoners, four of whom he recaptured near Ticonderoga ;* they having escaped from New York and Albany, were on their flight to the French Forts. The latter, who had but one white man with him, and eighteen Indians, took ten prisoners and 7 scalps out of a party of French. About the middle of May, a flag of truce was sent to Ticonderoga on Col. Schuyler's account, which put a stop to all offensive scouts until its return.

MAY 28. Orders were issued to all the officers and men of the Rangers, and the two Indian companies on furlough, to join their respective corps ; and that every man under my command should be at his post before the 10th of June. Those orders were obeyed, and parties kept out until the 8th of June, when Lord Howe arrived at Fort Edward with one half of the army.

His Lordship immediately ordered me to take 50 men, and my whale boats, which were carried over to Lake George in waggons, and proceed to Ticonderoga ; to obtain at all events, a plan of the north end with all possible accuracy ; also the ground

*One was a sentinel taken near the gate of Ticonderoga.

from the Landing place, to the Fort ; also of Lake Champlain, for 3 miles beyond it, and discover the enemy's force in that quarter. With these orders, I marched my party on the morning of the 12th, and at night encamped upon the scite of Fort William Henry.

June 30. Proceeded down the Lake in five whale boats, to the first narrows, and to the west end of the Lake, where I took the plan required.

Part of my men proceeding to reconnoitre the Fort, discovered an extensive encampment and a large number of Indians. While I was engaged at a distance from my men, with two or three others taking a plan of the Fort and camp, the Rangers were attacked by a superior number of the enemy who had come between us. Capt. Jacob with his Mohegan Indians, ran off at the first onset, calling to our people to do the same : but they stood their ground, discharged their pieces several times, and at last, broke through the enemy, by whom they had been surrounded on all sides, except their rear, which was covered by a river. They killed three of the enemy, but lost eight of their own party in the skirmish. My party rallied at the boats where I joined them, and having collected all but the slain, returned homewards.

On the 20th at Half-way Brook, we met Lord Howe advancing with three thousand men, to whom I gave an account of my scout, and the plans he had requested. From him, I obtained leave to visit Fort Edward, where his Excellency Maj. Gen. Abercrombie was then posted.—He ordered me to join Lord Howe next day, with all the Rangers, amounting to 600 men, and proceed with him to the Lake.

On the 22d his Lordship encamped at the Lake, where Fort Wm. Henry formerly stood. The Rangers advanced 400 yards, and encamped on the west

side. From this position, three small parties of Rangers were detached, viz. one to the narrows of South Bay, one along the west side of Lake George, and a third to Ticonderoga; all proceeding by land. Another party consisting of two Lieutenants and seventeen men, proceeded down the Lake in five whale boats on the look out, and were all taken prisoners by 200 French and Indians.

June 28. General Abercrombie arrived at the Lake with the remainder of the troops; and on the morning of July 5th, the whole army of nearly 16000 men, embarked in batteaux for Ticonderoga. The order of March afforded a splendid military show. The regular troops occupied the centre, and the provincials formed the wings. For the advanced guard, the Light Infantry flanked the right and the Rangers the left of Col. Bradstreet's Batteau men.

In this order the army advanced until dark, down Lake George, to Sabbath-day point, when it halted to refresh. As ten o'clock (at night) the troops moved onward, Lord Howe proceeding in front with his whale boat, accompanied by Colonel Bradstreet, myself, and Lieut. Holmes in other boats. Holmes was despatched before us, to observe the Landing place, and ascertain if the enemy were posted there. Mr. Holmes returned at day break, and met the army near the Blue mountains, four miles from the Landingplace, where he reported a party of the enemy were posted which he discovered by their fires. At day light, his Lordship, Col. Bradstreet, and myself, proceeded within a quarter of a mile of the Landing place, and perceived a small detachment of the enemy in possession of it. Whereupon his Lordship returned to assist in landing the army, intending to march by land to Ticonderoga. At 12 o'clock the landing was effected, and the Rangers posted on the left wing. I was ordered by Gen.

Abercrombie, to gain the summit of a mountain, which bore north one mile from the Landing place, thence to proceed east to the river, which enters the falls between the Landing place, and the sawmill, and to take possession of a rising ground on the side of the enemy, there to wait for further orders.†

After a fatiguing march of one hour, I reached place whither I was ordered, and posted my men to the best advantage; being within a quarter of a mile of where the Marquis de Montcalm, was posted with 1500 men, as my scouts ascertained. At twelve o'clock, Colonels Lyman and Fitch of the Provincials, took post in my rear. While I was informing them of the enemy's position, a sharp fire commenced in the rear of Lyman's regiment, who immediately formed his front, and desired me to fall upon the left flank, which I did. I ordered Capt. Burbank with 150 men to remain at the place where we were then posted, and watch the motions of the French at the sawmills. The remainder of my force, fell upon the enemy's left, the river covering their right, and killed many of them. By this time, Lord Howe with a detachment from his front, had broken the enemy and hemmed them in on every side; but advancing himself, with too great intrepidity and eagerness was unfortunately struck by a shot and died instantly.†

*It was the practice of the Royal Generals, after they had been taught experience by the overthrow of Braddock, to detach the Rangers in advance of the army, to scour the woods and discover ambuscades, if any were prepared for them. On this occasion, they cleared the way to the sawmills. The bridge between Lake George, and the plains of Ticonderoga, was forced by Capt. John Stark at the head of 200 Rangers, which left the passage free for the army to advance to the attack. (Stark's Memoir.)

†This gallant and accomplished nobleman was universally beloved by both officers and soldiers, and his fall produced a general consternation.

July 7. At six o'clock, I was ordered to the river running into the falls, where I had been stationed the day before, there to halt on the west side, with 430 men, while Capt. Stark with the remainder of the Rangers, proceeded with Captain Abercrombie, and Mr. Clerk the engineer, to reconnoitre the Fort. They returned the same evening. The whole army passed the night under arms. At sunrise on the 8th, Sir William Johnson arrived with 440 Indians.

At 7 o'clock, the Rangers were ordered to march. A Lieutenant of Capt. Stark, led the advanced guard, which when within 300 yards of the intrenchments, was ambushed and fired upon by 200 French. I immediately formed a front to support them, and they maintained their ground until the enemy retreated. Soon after this, the Batteau-men formed on my left, and the Light Infantry on my right. This fire of the enemy did not kill one of our men. Soon after, two provincial Regiments, formed in my rear, at 200 yards distance. While the army was thus forming, a scattering fire was kept up between our flying parties and those of the enemy, without the breast work. At half past ten, the greater part of the army being drawn up, a sharp fire commenced on the left wing, where Col. De Lancey's New York men and the Batteau-men were posted. Upon this, I was ordered to drive the enemy within their works, and then to fall down, that the piquets and grenadiers might march through. The enemy soon retired within their works; and Major Proby with his piquets marched within a few yards of the works, where he unfortunately fell. The enemy keeping up a steady fire, the soldiers were drawing back, when Colonel Haldiman* came up with the Grenadiers to support them, followed by the battalions of the line. The

*Afterwards Governor of Canada.

Colonel advanced very near the breast work, which was eight feet high. Some of the Provincials and Mohawks also came up.*

We toiled with repeated attacks for four hours, being greatly embarrassed by trees felled by the enemy without their breast work, when the General ordered a retreat, and directed the Rangers to bring up the rear, which they did in the dusk of the evening.

On the ninth at dark we reached our camp at the south end of Lake George, where the army received the General's thanks for their good behaviour, and were ordered to intrench themselves. The wounded were sent to Fort Edward and Albany. Our loss in Regulars and Provincials,† was considerable. The enemy lost 500 killed, and many were taken prisoners.

July 8. Went on a scout to South Bay, and returned on the 16th having discovered a thousand of the enemy on the east side. This party fell upon

*This attack was made before the General intended, by an accidental fire on the New York wing, upon which Col. Haviland being in the centre, ordered the troops to advance.

†The loss of the British army in this attack has been estimated at 1608 regulars and 334 provincials. The importance of occupying the mountain which overlooked and commanded the works of Ticonderoga, did not escape the military eye of Howe. But the attempt to transport cannon to the summit, (800 feet) was considered in those days, a task which nothing short of marvellous aid, could accomplish. Abercrombie therefore, confident of success, from the number, discipline, and valor of his troops, waived an opportunity of reducing the place without loss. Gen. Burgoyne afterwards acted a more prudent and military part. He took possession of this mountain, drew up his cannon with the greatest secrecy in the night, by using large brass tackles, and from the summit, shew himself to the astonished Americans, on the morning of July 7th 1777. The immediate evacuation of the post, and the disastrous retreat of St. Clair, were the consequences.

Col. Nichols' Regiment on the 17th at Half-way Brook, and killed three captains and twenty men.

July 27. Another party of the enemy fell upon a convoy of waggons between Fort Edward and Half-way brook,* and killed 116 men 16 of whom were Rangers.

I attempted to intercept this party with 700 men, but they escaped. On my return, an express met me with orders to march to South and East Bays, and return by Fort Edward. In the execution of these orders, nothing material happened until the 5th of August. On our return early in the morning we decamped from the place where Fort Anne stood, and began our march, Major Putnam with a party of Provincials marching in front, my Rangers in the rear, and Capt. Dalyell with the Regulars in the centre, our whole force consisting of 530, exclusive of officers, (a number having returned the day before.) After marching three fourths of a mile, 500 of the enemy attacked us in front. Our men were immediately brought into line, Capt. Dalyell commanding the centre, with the Rangers and Light infantry on the right, and Capt. Giddings with his Boston troops on the left. Major Putnam being in front when the fire began, the enemy rushed in, took him, one Lieutenant and two men prisoners, threw the whole into confusion and put them to flight. They afterward rallied and performed good service, particularly, Lieut. Durkee, who notwithstanding a wound in his thigh, and one in his wrist, bravely maintained his ground, and encouraged his men throughout the action.

*From these and other slaughters, this brook is sometimes called "Bloody Brook."

†The Indians tied Major Putnam to a tree, and being obliged to give ground, his situation exposed him to the shot of both parties. In their retreat, the enemy carried him away with them.

Capt. Dalyell with Gage's Light Infantry, and Lieut. Eyers of the 44th Regiment, behaved with great gallantry. They occupied the centre, where at first, the fire was most severe; it afterwards fell to the right, where the enemy made four different attacks upon the Rangers. The officers and soldiers throughout the detachment, behaved so well, that in one hour's time, the enemy broke and retreated. This they effected with caution, and in such small scattering parties, as afforded us no opportunity to harrass them in the pursuit. We kept the field and buried our dead. We missed fifty four men, twenty one of whom, came in afterwards being separated from us in the action. The enemy lost 199 killed, several of whom were Indians. We were met at some distance from Fort Edward, by 300 men with refreshments sent us by Col. Provost, and arrived there on the 9th.

July 11. Col. Provost* who now ranked as Brigadier, and commanded Fort Edward, ordered me to pursue the track of a large party of Indians, which he understood had passed down the east side of the Hudson, and if possible, cut off their retreat. The report being groundless, I returned to Fort Edward on the 14th, and proceeded to the camp at Lake George.

Aug. 29. Reconnoitred Ticonderoga, and was from this time, until the army retired to winter quarters, employed in various excursions to the French Forts; and in pursuit of their flying parties.

Notwithstanding little was effected by our campaign against Ticonderoga, the British arms were not every where unsuccessful. Col. Bradstreet with

*Afterwards Governor of Canada.

2000 men reduced Fort Frontenac at Cataraqua.* General Amherst who commanded at Cape Breton having succeeded in capturing the strong and important fortress of Louisburg, now assumed the chief command of His Majesty's forces in place of Gen. Abercrombie, and fixed his Head Quarters at New York. We had now new commanders to obey, and a new apprenticeship to serve.

From Albany, where I was settling accounts with the paymaster, I despatched the following letter to Colonel Townshend, Deputy Adjutant General to His Excellency.

Albany, Jan. 28, 1759.

SIR,

I herewith send you a return of the present condition of His Majesty's Rangers at Fort Edward, with a list of officers now recruiting in different parts of New England, who report already 400 men enlisted, which are now wanted to protect our convoys between Albany and Fort Edward.

In order to urge the recruiting service, I would propose to visit New England, and wait upon the General at New York, on my way, to represent the necessity of augmenting the Rangers, and the desire of the Stockbridge Indians to re-enter the service. The Rangers' arms are in the hands of Mr. Cuninghame at New York and are very much needed

*This fort was square faced, with four stone bastions, and nearly three quarters of a mile in circumference. Its situation was very pleasant, the banks of the river presenting on all sides, an agreeable landscape, with a fair view of Lake Ontario, distant one league, interspersed with many beautiful woody islands. The Fort was erected to prevent the Indians trading with the English, and became a place of great trade. It is now totally destroyed.

at Fort Edward. Will you be good enough to have them forwarded.

Respectfully,
Your obed't servant.
R. ROGERS.

P. S. Gen Stanwix informs that a subaltern and twenty Rangers are to be stationed at Number Four. I would recommend Lieut. Stevens who is well acquainted with the country in that quarter.

To COL. TOWNSHEND.

THE ANSWER.

Feb. 5, 1759.

SIR,

I received your letter with the enclosed return. The General commands me to inform you, that he can by no means approve of your leaving Fort Edward. Your recruiting officers are ordered to send their recruits to Fort Edward, by an advertisement in the newspapers, which was our only method of conveying the General's orders as you did not furnish their names or places of duty. The proposals for the Indians should be sent immediately to the General. The arms shall be sent forthwith.

Lieut. Stevens has been notified of the General's intention of leaving him at Number Four. It is a season of the year when you may expect the enemy's scouting parties, and you must see the necessity of remaining at Fort Edward. Your officers will join you as soon as possible. At another time, the General would grant your request.

Your humble servant,
R. TOWNSHEND, D. A. G.

To MAJOR ROGERS.

I proposed to the Colonel, an addition of two new corps of Rangers, on the same footing as those

already in service ; and that three Indian companies should be raised for the next campaign. In order to secure them, before they went out upon hunting parties, I wrote to three of their chiefs, one of whom was King Uncas of the Mohegans, in substance as follows.

BROTHER UNCAS,

As it is for the advantage of King George, to have a large body of Rangers for the next campaign and being well convinced of your attachment, I wish in pursuance of Gen. Amherst's orders, to engage your assistance here early in the spring. Should you choose to come out as Captain, you shall have a commission ; if not I shall expect *Do-quipe* and *Nunnipad*. You shall choose the Ensign and Sergeants. The company should consist of fifty men or more. If the deserters from Brewer's Corps* will join you, the Gen. will pardon them. You may employ a clerk who shall be allowed the usual pay. I wish you success in raising the men, and shall be glad to be joined by you, as soon as possible.

Your humble servant,

R. ROGERS.

With letters to Indians, a belt of wampum must be sent. The bearer reads the letter and delivers both that and the belt to the sachem to whom they are directed.

Towards the last of February, Sir Wm. Johnson sent Capt. Lottridge (Indian) with fifty Mohawks, to join me in a scout to Ticonderoga.

March 3. 1759. Received from Col. Haldiman, orders to reconnoitre the enemy's Forts, and march-

*Several men had deserted from Brewer's Company and were then residing with the Mohegans.

ed with 358 men to Half way brook, where we encamped. One Indian being hurt by accident, returned. On the 4th marched within a mile and a half of Lake George, and halted until evening, that we might pass the enemy undiscovered, if any should be on the hill. We then continued our March until two o'clock in the morning, and halted at the first narrows; whence several of our party being frost bitten, were sent back in charge of a careful sergeant to Fort Edward.

At eleven o'clock on the evening of the 5th we reached Sabbath-day point, almost overcome with the cold. At two o'clock, continued our route, and reached the landing place at eight A. M. Here a scout was sent out and reported that two working parties were to be seen on the east side, but none on the west. I judged this a suitable time for the Engineer to make his observations; and leaving Capt. Williams in command of the Regulars and thirty Rangers, proceeded with the Engineer, forty nine Rangers, Capt. Lottridge and forty five Indians, to the isthmus which overlooks the Fort, where he made his observations. We then returned to our party, leaving five Indians and one Ranger, to observe what numbers crossed the Lake from the east side, in the evening, that I might know how to attack them next morning. At dark, the Engineer went again to the intrenchments, with Lieut. Tute and a guard of 10 men. He returned at midnight, without molestation, having finished his business to his satisfaction. Upon this, I ordered Capt. Williams and the Regulars back to Sabbath-day point, they being so distressed with the cold, and having no snow shoes, it appeared imprudent to march them any farther. Lieut. Tute and thirty Rangers were sent with them, with orders to kindle fires upon the point. At three o'clock, I marched with three Lieutenants and forty Rangers, one Regular

and Capt. Lottridges Indians, to attack the working parties when they crossed the Lake early in the morning. We crossed South Bay eight miles south of the Fort,* and at six o'clock bore down opposite to it, within half a mile of the French parties employed in cutting wood. A scout of two Indians and two Rangers soon brought intelligence, that they were forty in number, and at work close upon the Lake shore, nearly opposite the Fort. Throwing off our blankets, we ran down upon them, took several prisoners, and destroyed most of the party in the retreat. Being discovered by the garrison, we were pursued by eighty Canadians and Indians, backed by 150 regulars, who in a mile's march, commenced a fire upon our rear. We halted upon a rising ground, repulsed the enemy, before their whole party came up, and resumed our line of march abreast. Proceeding half a mile further, our rear was again attacked, but we gained an advantageous post, upon a long ridge, where we made a stand on the side opposite to the enemy. The Canadians and Indians came very close, but receiving a warm fire from the Rangers and Mohawks they broke immediately, were pursued and entirely routed before their Regulars could come up. We now marched without opposition. In these skirmishes, one Regular† and two Rangers were killed, one Indian wounded and thirty of the enemy left dead upon the field. At twelve o'clock at night, we reached Sabbath day Point, fifty miles§ from the place we left

*Here we found that a party of Indians had gone up the Bay towards our Forts.

†The only Regular in the party.

§This, considering that two skirmishes were fought on the same day, may be considered rather an extraordinary march.

in the morning. Capt. Williams was up, and received us with good fires, than which, nothing could be more acceptable to my party, several of whom had their feet frozen, the weather being excessively cold, and the snow four feet deep. Next morning, the whole detachment marched to Long Island, on Lake George and encamped for the night. During our march, some of the Rangers and Indians had leave to hunt on the Lake shore, and brought us plenty of venison.

Fearing that a party of Indians who had gone up South Bay, might do some mischief before I reached Fort Edward, I sent Lieut. Tute, with the following letter to Col. Haldiman.

Camp at Sabbath day Point, 8 o'clock, A. M.

SIR,

I would inform you that 60 Indians in 2 parties, have gone towards Fort Edward and Saratoga, and I fear will strike some blow before this reaches you. Mr. Brheme the Engineer, is satisfied that he has done his business agreeably to his orders; since which, I have taken and destroyed several of the enemy near Ticonderoga, as the bearer will inform. The Mohawks behaved well, and ventured within pistol shot of the Fort.* The weather is extremely severe, and we are obliged to carry some of our men whose feet are frozen.

Yours &c.

R. ROGERS.

N. B. Two thirds of my detachment have frozen their feet.

*This was quite a venture for them—they have a mortal antipathy to coming within the range of cannon shot.

Fort Edward, March 10, 1759.

DEAR SIR,

I congratulate you on your success, and send twenty two sleighs to transport your sick. You will also bring as many boards as you can conveniently.* My compliments to Capt. Williams and all the gentlemen.

Your most obedient servant,

FRED. HALDIMAN.

P. S. The signal guns have been fired to give notice to the different posts to be on their guard. Nothing has yet appeared.†

At Lake George, we met the sleighs, and a detachment of 100 men, with whom, we all arrived safe at Fort Edward, where I found the following letters.

SIR,

New York, Feb. 26, 1757.

Your letter by Mr. Stark was yesterday received. The General approves of raising the Indians, but does not agree, to raise any more companies of Rangers until the present ones are completed. Your arms have been proved by the artillery, and answer well. They will be sent you as fast as possible. We have chosen 100 men from each regiment, and selected officers, to act this year as Light Infantry. They are equipped as lightly as possible, and are much wanted in our service. Brigadier Gage recommends you highly to the General. With him, merit will not pass unrewarded, nor will he favour recommendations, unless the person deserves promotion. Please return your companies when complete.

Your humble servant,

R. TOWNSHEND.

* Boards left at the place where Wm. Henry stood, now wanted at Fort Edward.

† These alarm guns were heard by a party of the enemy, then near Fort Miller on the Hudson eight miles below Fort Edward, who supposed themselves discovered, and retreated with precipitation.

New York, Feb. 13, 1759.

SIR,

This will be delivered by Captain Jacob Nawnawapateonks who during the last campaign commanded the Stockbridge Indians; who upon hearing that you had written concerning him, came to offer his services for the ensuing campaign. As you have not mentioned any terms, I refer him to you to receive his proposals, report them to me, and inform me whether his service is adequate to them. After which, I will give an answer.

I am Sir,

Your very humble servant,

JEFF. AMHERST.

TO MAJOR ROGERS.

Before receiving this letter, I had waited upon the General at Albany, by whom I was well received, and assured of the rank of Major in the army, from the date of my commission under Gen. Abercrombie.

Returning to Fort Edward May 15th, received the melancholy news, that Capt. Burbank had been sent on a scout in my absence, and had been cut off with thirty men. Mr. Burbank was one of our best officers and the scout upon which he had been sent, was needless and ill-advised.*

Preparations for the campaign were now hastened in every quarter. Levies from the different Provinces, were forwarded. The Ranger companies were completed, and in June, part of the army under Gen. Gage, advanced to the Lake. I was di-

*The Indians scalped Capt. Burbank, and held up his scalp in great exultation supposing it to be that of Rogers. The prisoners informed them of their mistake; and they appeared to be sorry, saying that Capt. B. was a good man. It appears he had at some time previous shewn some of them kindness, which they are not apt to forget.

rected to send Captain Stark with three companies, to join Gen. Gage. I remained with the other three, under the orders of the General in Chief, who directed several scouts to be made to the enemy's Forts.

June 20th. The second division of the army proceeded to the Lake, the Rangers forming part of the advanced guard. Here His Excellency was pleased to fulfil his promise to me, by declaring in public orders, my rank as Major in the army, from the date of my commission as Major of Rangers. The army lay here collecting its strength, and procuring information of the enemy, until July 21st, when it was again embarked for Ticonderoga, little more than a year after your repulse, before the lines of that Fortress.

June 22. The Rangers were in front on the right wing, and were the first troops landed at the north end of Lake George; after them, followed the Grenadiers and Light Infantry, commanded by Col. Haviland.

The Rangers marched across the mountains in the isthmus, thence through a by-path in the woods, to the bridge at the sawmills, where finding the bridge standing uninjured, we crossed to the other side, took possession of a rising ground, drove thence a party of the enemy, killed several, took a number of prisoners, and routed the whole, before Colonel Haviland's corps had crossed the bridge.

The army took possession of the heights near the saw-mills, where it lay that night. The enemy kept out a scout of Indians and Canadians, which killed several men, and galled us severely.

July 23. At an early hour, the General put his troops in motion. The Rangers were ordered to the front, with directions to proceed across Chesnut plain, the nearest way to Lake Champlain, and endeavour to strike it, near the edge of the cleared

ground, between that, and the breast work, there to wait for further orders. The General had by this time prepared a detachment to attack the main breast work on the hill, which succeeded in carrying it; while two hundred Rangers under Capt. Brewer took possession of a small entrenchment near Lake Champlain, without much loss.

From the time the army came in sight, the enemy kept up a constant fire of cannon from their walls and batteries. The General employed several Provincial regiments* to transport the cannon and stores across the carrying place; which service they performed with great expedition.

July 24. This day† the engineers were employed in raising batteries with the assistance of a large portion of the troops; the remainder, being engaged in making fascines until the 26th at night. Scouts from the Rangers, were during this interval, continually kept out in the vicinity of Crown Point, by whose means the General had hourly intelligence from that post.

Orders were given to cut away a boom, which the French had thrown across the Lake, opposite the Fort, which prevented our boats from passing, and cutting off the French retreat. For this purpose, two whale boats and one English flat boat were conveyed across the land from Lake George to Lake Champlain, in which, after dark, sixty Rangers passed to the other side of Champlain, opposite their camp; from thence intending to steer along the east shore, and silently saw off the boom, which

*About this time, some of the Provincial Regiments were sent to Oswego to assist in erecting a Fort.

†This day the brave Col. Townshend was killed by a cannon shot. His fall was deeply lamented by the General, to whom he acted as Deputy Adjutant General.

was composed of logs of timber fastened together with large iron chains.

At nine o'clock we had nearly reached our destination, when the French who had previously undermined the Fortress, sprung their mines, which blew up with a tremendous explosion, and immediately commenced a retreat in their boats. This gave us an opportunity of attacking them to advantage, and driving several of their boats on shore; so that next morning ten boats were taken on the east shore, containing a large quantity of baggage, fifty barrels of powder, and a quantity of shot and shells.

At ten o'clock, I returned and reported to the General.

27. I was ordered with a party to the sawmills, to way-lay the flying parties of the enemy who were expected to return that way; and lay there until August 11, when the following order was received.

You are this night to send a Captain with a proper proportion of subalterns, and 200 men to Crown Point. Where they will post themselves in such a manner as not to be surprised, and if attacked they are not to retreat, but to maintain their ground until reinforced.

JEFF. AMHERST.

Capt. Brewer was detached with the party, and the General following in the morning, with the whole army, arrived and took possession of the Point the same day; Capt. Brewer had executed his orders in the most satisfactory manner.

Aug. 12. This evening, the encampment was arranged, the Rangers' camp being in front of the army. The next day, the General directed the ground to be cleared, and employed a large portion of the troops, in erecting a new Fort. Capt. Stark with

200 Rangers was employed in cutting a road from Crown Point, through the wilderness to Number Four. While the army lay at Crown Point, I sent out several scouts, some of which brought prisoners from St. John's and others penetrated far into the enemy's back country.*

We were thus occupied until the 12th of September, when the General exasperated at the treatment Capt. Kennedy had received from the St. Francis Indians, to whom he had been sent with a flag of truce and proposals of peace, who had been by them made prisoner with his party, that he determined to bestow upon them, a signal chastisement. He gave orders as follows: "You are this night* to join the detachment of 200 men which were yesterday ordered out, and proceed to Missisqui bay from which, you will proceed to attack the enemy's settlements on the south side of the St. Lawrence, in such a manner, as shall most effectually disgrace and injure the enemy, and redound to the honour and success of His Majesty's arms. Remember the barbarities committed by the enemy's Indian scoundrels, on every occasion, where they have had opportunities of shewing their infamous cruelties, towards His Majesty's subjects. Take your revenge, but remember that although the villains have promiscuously murdered women and children of all ages, it is my order, that no women or children should be killed or hurt. When you have performed this

*Capt Tute and Lieut. Fletcher were taken prisoners while on different scouts, and carried to Canada.

[This plan was concerted the day before but that all due caution might be used, it was given out in public orders, that I was to proceed another way, while I had secret orders to proceed to St. Francis,

service, you will again join the army wherever it may be.

Yours &c,

JEFF. AMHERST.

Camp at Crown Point, Sept. 13, 1759.

TO MAJOR ROGERS.

The account of the expedition to St. Francis, is contained in a despatch to Gen. Amherst, as follows.

On the evening of the twenty second day after our departure from Crown Point, we came in sight of the Indian town of St. Francis, which we discovered by climbing a tree at three miles distance. Here my party consisting of 142,* officers included, were ordered to refresh themselves.

At eight o'clock Lieut. Turner, Ensign Avery and myself reconnoitred the town. We found the Indians engaged in a high frolic, and saw them execute several dances with the greatest spirit.†

We returned to our Camp, at two o'clock, and at three, advanced with the whole party, within 500 yards of the village, where the men were lightened of their packs, and formed for action.

Half an hour before sunrise, we surprised the village approaching it in three divisions, on the right, left, and centre; which was effected with so much caution and promptitude, on the part of the officers and men, that the enemy had no time to recover themselves, or to take arms in their own de-

*Capt. Williams of the Royal troops, on the fifth day of the march, was accidentally burnt with gun powder, and obliged to return, taking with him forty four men who were sick and hurt."

†It was ascertained from the prisoners, that the Indians were engaged in celebrating a wedding, on the evening before the destruction of their town.

fence, until they were mostly destroyed. Some few escaped to the water, but my people pursued, sunk their canoes, and shot those who attempted to escape by swimming. We then set fire to all their houses excepting three reserved for the use of the party.

The fire consumed many Indians who had concealed themselves in the cellars and lofts of their houses and would not come out. At seven o'clock in the morning the affair was completely over. We had by that time, killed 200 Indians, and taken twenty of their women and children prisoners; fifteen of the latter, I suffered to go their own way; and brought home with me two Indian boys* and three girls. Five English captives were also found and taken into our care.

On parading the detachment, Captain Ogden was found to be badly wounded being shot through the body, but still able to perform his duty. Six privates were wounded, and one Stockbridge Indian killed.

I ordered my party to take corn out of the reserved houses, for their subsistence home, there being no other provision there; and while they were loading themselves, I examined the captives, who reported that a party of 300 French and some Indians, were down the river four miles below us; and that our boats were way-laid.

This I believed to be true, as they told the exact number, and the place where they had been left; that 250 French had three days before gone up the river, to "Wigwam Martinic" supposing that I intended to attack that place."

A council of war now concluded that no other course was left us, than to return by Connecticut

*These prisoners on reaching number Four claimed Mrs. Johnson as an old acquaintance, she having been with their tribe as a prisoner some time before. One of them was called Sebatia.

River and Number Four. The detachment therefore marched in a body eight days upon that course, and when provisions grew scarce near Memphremagog Lake, it was divided into companies with proper guides to each, and ordered to assemble at the mouth of Ammonoosuck River,* as I expected to find provisions there for our relief.

Two days after we separated, Ensign Avery of Fitch's regiment with his party, fell upon my track, and followed in my rear. The enemy fell upon them, and took seven prisoners, two of whom escaped and came to me next morning. Avery with his men soon after joined us and we proceeded to the Coos intervalles, where I left them with Lient. Grant. I then proceeded with Capt. Ogden and one man more, upon a raft and arrived at this place yesterday. Provisions were in half an hour after despatched up the river to Mr. Grant, by a canoe which will reach him this night. Two other canoes with provisions, have been sent to the mouth of Ammonoosuck River. I shall go up the River tomorrow, to look after my men, and return as soon as possible, to Crown Point. Capt. Ogden can inform you of other particulars respecting this scout, as he was with me through the whole expedition, and behaved nobly.

Your most obedient servant,

R. ROGERS.

Number Four, Nov. 5, 1759.

To GEN. AMHERST.

I cannot forbear making some remarks upon the difficulties and distresses, which attended the expedition under my command, against the village of St.

*Ammonoosuck River falls into the Connecticut sixty miles above Number Four (now Charleston N. H.)

I expected our boats would be taken, and sent back to Crown Point, to have provisions conveyed to that place.

Francis, situated within three miles of the river St. Lawrence in the heart of Canada about half way between Montreal and Quebec. While we kept the water, it was found extremely difficult to pass undiscovered by the enemy, who were cruising in great numbers upon the Lake, and had prepared certain vessels armed with all manner of mischievous implements, to decoy English parties on board, and destroy them. But we escaped their designs, and landed at Missisqui bay in ten days. Here I left my boats and provisions sufficient to carry us back to Crown Point, under the charge of two trusty Indians ;—who were to remain there until we came back, unless the enemy should discover the boats, in which case, they were to follow my track, and bring the intelligence. The second day after this, they joined me at night, informing that 400 French had discovered my boats, and that 200 of them were now following my track. This caused us some uneasiness. Should the enemy overtake us, and we have the advantage in an encounter, they would be immediately reinforced, while we could expect no assistance, being so far advanced beyond our military posts, our boats and provisions likewise being taken, cut off all hope of retreat by the rout we came; but after due deliberation, it was resolved to accomplish our object at all events, and return by Connecticut River. Lieut. McMullen was despatched by land to Crown Point to desire Gen. Amherst to relieve us with provisions at Ammonosuck river, at the extremity of the Coos intervalles ; that being the way we should return if we ever should return. We now determined to out-march our pursuers, and destroy St. Francis, before we were overtaken. We marched nine days through a spruce bog, where the ground was wet and low, great part of it being covered with water a foot

deep. When we encamped at night, we cut boughs from the trees, and with them, constructed a kind of hammocks to secure ourselves from the water. We uniformly began our march a little before day and continued it until after dark at night. The tenth day after leaving the Bay brought us to a river fifteen miles north of St. Francis, which we were compelled to ford against a swift current. The tallest men were put up stream, and holding by each other, the party passed over with the loss of several guns, which were recovered by diving to the bottom. We had now good marching ground, and proceeded to destroy the town as before related; which would in all probability, have been effected with no other loss but the Indian who was killed in the action, had not our boats been discovered, and our retreat that way cut off.

This tribe of Indians was notoriously attached to the French, and had for a century past, harrassed the frontiers of New England, murdering people of all ages and sexes, in the most barbarous manner, and in times of peace, when they had no reason to suspect their hostile intentions.

They had within my own knowledge during the six years past, killed and carried away more than 600 persons. We found 600 scalps hanging upon poles over the doors of their wigwams.

It is impossible to describe the dejected and miserable condition of the party; on arriving at the Coos intervalles. After so long a march over rocky

*Capt. John Stark and Mr. Eastman of the Rangers were taken by a party of these Indians on Bakers river (N. H.) in 1752 and detained as prisoners some time at St. Francis. See Stark's Memoir.

barren mountains, and through deep swamps,* worn down with hunger and fatigue, we expected to be relieved at the intervalles, and assisted in our return. The officer despatched to the General, reached Crown Point in nine days, and faithfully discharged his commission; upon which, the General immediately ordered Licut. Stevens to Number Four, and to proceed thence with provisions up the river, to the place I had designated; there, to wait so long as there were any hopes of my return. The officer thought proper to remain but two days, and returned carrying with him all the provisions, about two hours before our arrival. We found a fresh fire burning in his camp, and fired guns to bring him back, which he heard, but would not return supposing we were an enemy.†

In this emergency I resolved to make the best of my way to Number Four, leaving the remainder of the party now unable to proceed any further, to obtain such wretched subsistence as the wilderness afforded,‡ until I could relieve them, which I promised to do in ten days.

Capt. Ogden, myself and a captive Indian boy, embarked upon a raft of dry pine trees. The current carried us down the stream in the middle of the river, where we kept our miserable vessel; with

*In one of these swamps, they were led about three days by a squaw, and finally brought back to their tracks, this was to give the Indians a chance to overtake them.

†This gentleman for his conduct on this occasion, was cashiered by a General Court Martial, and rendered incapable of sustaining any office in His Majesty's service, for the future. This however was no consolation to the brave men, to whom his negligence caused such distress and anguish, many of whom, actually died with hunger.

‡Ground nuts and lilly roots, which when boiled will support life.

such paddles as could be split, and hewn with small hatchets. The second day we reached White River falls; and very narrowly escaped running over them. The raft went over, and was lost; but our remaining strength enabled us to land and march by the falls. At the foot of them, Capt. Ogden and the Ranger killed some red squirrels and also a partridge, while I attempted to construct another raft. Not being able to cut the trees, I burnt them down, and burnt them at proper lengths. This was our third day's work after leaving our companions. The next day we floated down to Wattoquichie falls, which are about fifty yards in length. Here we landed, and Capt. Ogden held the raft by a wythe of hazle bushes, while I went below the falls, to swim in, board and paddle it ashore; this being our only hope for life, as we had not strength sufficient to make a new raft, should this be lost. I succeeded in securing it; and next morning we floated down within a short distance of Number Four. Here we found several men cutting timber, who relieved and assisted us to the Fort. A canoe was immediately despatched up the river with provisions, which reached the men at Coos in four days after, which according to my agreement, was the tenth after I left them. Two days afterwards, I went up the river with two other canoes, to relieve others of my party who might be coming that way.*

Expresses were sent to Suncook and Pennacook (now Pembroke and Concord N. H.) upon Merri-

*I met several parties, viz. Lieutenants Cargill, Campbell, and Farrington and Sergeant Evans, with their respective parties: and proceeding farther fell in with several who had escaped, of Turner's and Dunbar's parties, which (twenty in number) had been overtaken, and mostly killed or taken by the enemy.

mack river, that any who should stray in that direction, should be assisted.*

One of the Rangers instead of more important plunder, placed in his knapsack a large lump of tallow, which enabled him to fare comfortably on his return, while many of his comrades, who had secured more valuable articles, perished with hunger.

At Number Four the following letter was received from the General.

Crown Point, Nov. 8, 1759.

SIR,

Capt. Ogden has delivered me your letter of the 5th which I have read with great satisfaction. Every step you have taken was well judged and deserves my approbation. I am sorry Lieut. Stevens conducted so ill in coming away with the provisions, from the place where I ordered him to wait for you.

An Indian came in last night, who left some of your men at Otter river, I sent for them, and they have come in. This afternoon came in four Indians, two Rangers, a German woman and three other prisoners, they left four of your party some days since, and supposed they had arrived.†

*The expedition to St. Francis however unfortunate in its result, discovers the hardy character of those who undertook it. To march 300 miles through the enemy's country, where they were continually liable to ambuscades, with the knowledge that a powerful force was in their rear, and had taken their boats, were circumstances calculated to call into action all the energies which belonged to those days of chivalry and romance. It was an enterprise abounding in danger and difficulties worthy of the followers of Charles 12th.

† Upon our separation on the shores of Memphremagog Lake, some of the parties were ordered to make Crown Point, that being the best rout for hunting. One party conducted by Phillip an Indian, afterwards King Philip of the Pequawketts, reached home without the loss of a man, returning by the route in which I went to St. Francis.

I hope the residue may get in safe. The only risk will be in meeting the enemy's hunting parties.

I am Sir,

Your obed't serv't.

JEFF. AMHERST.

After our party had recruited their strength, such as were able to march, proceeded to Crown Point, where they arrived Dec. 1, 1759.

Since leaving the ruins of St. Francis, we had lost three officers; Lieut. Dunbar of Gage's Light Infantry, Lieut. Turner of the Rangers, and Lieut. Jenkins of the provincials, with forty six sergeants and privates. The Rangers at Crown Point, were all dismissed before my return, excepting two companies commanded by Captains Johnson and Tute. The General had left me orders to continue in that garrison, during the winter, with leave to proceed down the country and wait upon him at New York. After reporting to the General what intelligence I had obtained of the enemy's situation, he desired me at my leisure, to draw a plan of the march to St. Francis. I returned by way of Albany, which place I left on the 6th of February 1760 with thirteen recruits; and on the 13th while on my way between Ticonderoga and Crown Point my party was attacked by sixty Indians, who killed five and took four prisoners. With the remaining four, I escaped to Crown Point, and would immediately have pursued the enemy, but Col. Haviland thought the step would be imprudent, as the garrison was very sickly. My own sleigh was taken at this time, containing £1196 York currency, besides stores and necessaries. £800 of the money belonged to the crown, which was allowed to me; the remainder £396 was my own, which was entirely lost.

March 31. Capt. Tute with two regular officers

and six men, went upon a scout ; and were all taken prisoners. The sickness of the garrison prevented a pursuit.

The following letter was this day received from the General.

New York, March 1, 1760.

Sir,

The command of His Majesty to pursue the war in this country, has determined me to complete the companies of Rangers which were on foot last campaign. Capt. Waite yesterday informed me, that his company could easily be filled up in Massachusetts, and Connecticut, and I have given him a warrant for 800 dollars, and beating orders.

I have also written Capt. John Stark in New Hampshire, and Capt. David Brewer in Massachusetts, enclosing to each, beating orders for their respective Provinces. I send you a copy of their instructions, which are to send their men to Albany, as fast as recruited.

Your humble servant,

JEFF. AMHERST.

To MAJOR ROGERS.

ANSWER TO THE ABOVE.

Crown Point, March 15, 1760.

SIR,

Since the receipt of yours, I have despatched Lieut. McCormick of Capt. Wm. Stark's corps, Lieutenants Fletcher and Hoimes to recruit for my own and Capt. Johnson's company. I have no doubt they will bring in good men to replace those who have been frost bitten, who may be discharged or sent to the hospital. The smallness of our force has prevented any excursions to the French

settlements, in quest of a prisoner, which may be obtained at any time.

Yours respectfully,
R. ROGERS.

March 9. The General wrote that he had given a company of Rangers to Capt. Ogden, and to request that some one might be sent to Stockbridge to engage Lieut. Solomon (Indian) to raise a company of Indians for the ensuing campaign. Mr. Stuart Adjutant of the Rangers was accordingly sent, to explain to Solomon, the conditions of the service. A short time after, the Indians agreed to enter the service; but as many were out hunting, they could not be collected at Albany until May 10th. In the mean time, the Ranger Corps at Crown Point was completed.

May 4th. Sergeant Beverly having escaped from Montreal, arrived at Crown Point, after a journey of seven days. He had lived in the house of Mons. Vaudreuil the Governor, and brought intelligence, "that on the 10th of April the enemy withdrew their troops from Isle aux Noix,* excepting a garrison of 300, under Mons. Bonville; that they had also brought away half of the cannon and ammunition; that two French Frigates of 36 and 20 guns, and several smaller vessels lay all winter in the St. Lawrence; that all the French troops in Canada had concentrated at Jecorte on the 20th of April, excepting slender garrisons in their Forts; all the Militia that could be spared from the country, leaving but one male to every two females, to sow the grain, were also collected at the same place, under their General, the Chevalier Levi, who intended to

*In the river Sorell, a few miles north of Lake Champlain.

retake Quebec:* that ninety men were drowned in their passage to Jecorte; that he saw a private, belonging to our troops at Quebec, who had been taken prisoner the 15th of April; he stated that the garrison was very healthy; that Brig. General Murray had 4000 men fit for duty in the city, and an advanced guard of 300 men at Point Levi, which place, the enemy attempted to occupy in February last, with a considerable force, and began to fortify a stone church near the Point; but that Gen. Murray sent over a detachment of 1000 men, which drove the enemy from his position, with the loss of a Captain and thirty French soldiers taken prisoners; that the English had fortified the church for their own convenience; that Gen. Murray had another military post of 300 men on the north side of the river, at Laurette a little distance from the town; that all along the land-ward side of the town was a line of block houses under cover of the cannon; that a breast work of fraziers extended from one block house to another; that Gen. Murray had heard the enemy intended to beat up his quarters but was not in the least alarmed: that a party from Quebec surprised two of the enemy's guards at Point Treamble, each of which consisted of 50 men, who were all killed or taken, one guard consisting entirely of French Grenadiers; that two more English Frigates had passed up the river, and two other men of war lay near the isle of Orleans; that the French told him that a fleet of ten sail of men of war had been seen at Gaspee Bay; and had again put to sea on account of the ice; but as they shew different colours, they did know whether they were French, or English; that the French intended on the first of May, to draw off 2000 men to Isle aux

* This city the capital of Canada had been in 1759 taken by the English troops under the command of General Wolfe.

Noix, and as many more to Oswegatchie ; and did not intend to attack Quebec, unless the French fleet entered the river before that of the English ; that on the 5th of May, 100 Indians departed for our Forts; the residue of them had proceeded to Jecorte ; that the Attawawas and Cold Country Indians will join Gen. Levi in June, ten sachems having been despatched last fall, to solicit the aid of those nations from the north west; that the French have in their service many deserters from the corps of Royal Americans at Quebec ; that they were to be sent under the guidance of Monsieur Boarbier, up the Attawawas River, to the French colony between the Lakes, and the Mississippi ; that most of the enemy's Indians intend going there ; that many of the French who have money, intend to secure it by retiring to New Orleans; that he saw at Montreal, Reynolds and Hall, two Rangers who were last fall, reported by Col. Haviland as deserters ; they were taken prisoners near River-head Block-house, while in quest of cattle ; two more Rangers will be here in ten days, with fresh tidings from Montreal, if they can effect their escape ; Longee the famous partisan was drowned in the St. Lawrence, a few days after he returned with the party which surprised Capt. Tute; that the Indians keep a sharp look out, upon the Number Four roads, where they intercept plenty of sheep and cattle, on their way to Crown Point ; Gen. Murray had lately hanged several Canadians, detected while conveying ammunition from Quebec, to the enemy ; the 2 Indian Captains Jacob, are still in Canada; the one is with Capt. Kennedy, on board a vessel in irons ; the other ran away last fall but returned having frozen his feet and is at Montreal.

A few days after this, I went down Lake Champlain to reconnoitre the Isle aux Noix, the landing

places, garrison &c. and then proceeding to Albany gave the General all the information I possessed in regard to the passage into Canada, by the Isle aux Noix, as also that by Oswego,* and La Galette.

The General learning by an express, that Quebec was besieged by the French, formed the design of sending me with a party into Canada, with directions if the siege continued, to lay waste the country, and by marching from place to place, endeavour to draw off the enemy's troops and prolong the siege, until our vessels should ascend the river. I was to be governed entirely by the motions of the French army; if the siege was raised, to retreat; otherwise, to harrass the country even at the expense of my party. The orders were as follows.

You are to proceed with a detachment of 300 men, viz. 275 Rangers with their officers, a subaltern two sergeants and 25 men from the Light Infantry Regiments, down the Lake, under convoy of the brig, and lay up your boats in a safe place, upon one of the islands, while executing the following orders.

You will land 250 men on the west side, in such a manner, as to reach St. Johns, without being discovered by the enemy at Isle aux Noix; where you will endeavour to surprise the Fort of St. Johns; and destroy the vessels, boats, provisions, or whatever else may be there, for the use of the troops at the Isle aux Noix. You will then proceed to Chamblee and destroy every magazine you can find in that quarter. These proceedings will soon be known at the Isle aux Noix, and the enemy will endeavour to cut off your retreat; therefore your safest course will be, to cross the river, and return on the east

*The General with the main army proceeded by the Oswego rout.

side of the Isle aux Noix. Upon landing on the west side, you will send an officer with 50 Rangers to Wigwam Martinic, to destroy what he may there find, on both sides of the river, and then retreat. You will take such provisions as are necessary, and direct Capt. Grant, who will wait for your return, at what places he may look out for you.

Your men should be as lightly equipped as possible. They should be strictly cautioned respecting their conduct, and obedience to their officers. There should be no firing, no unnecessary alarms, and no retreating without order.—The men are to stand by each other, and nothing can injure them.—Let every man who has a proper musket, be furnished with a bayonet. You are not to suffer the Indians to destroy women, or children, or your men to load themselves with plunder.—They shall be rewarded on their return, as they deserve.

JEFF. AMHERST.

May 25. With the above instructions, the General delivered me a letter directed to General Murray at Quebec, with orders to have it conveyed to him as soon as possible.

I now returned to Crown Point, and about the beginning of June, embarked from thence with 250* men in four vessels, taking on board our boats and provisions, that the enemy might have no opportunity for discovering our designs.

June 3. Lieut. Holmes landed at Missisqui Bay, with orders to proceed to Wigwam Martinic. One of the sloops was directed to cruise for him, and on his return to receive him on board, on his making

*The Stockbridge Indians had not arrived, but were ordered to follow me as part of my force.

certain signals. From this place, I despatched the General's letter to Brigadier Murray, by Sergeant Beverly, with the following instructions.

You are directed to take under your command, John Shute,* Luxford Goodwin, and Joseph Eastman, and proceed under the convoy of Lieut. Holmes, to Missisqui Bay and land in the night; otherwise you may be discovered by a party from Isle aux Noix. You will then steer a north easterly course, and proceed with all possible despatch to Quebec, or to the English army at or near that city; and deliver the letter intrusted to your care to Brigadier Murray, or to the officer commanding His Majesty's forces in or upon the river St. Lawrence. You have herewith a plan of the country, that you may know the considerable rivers between Missisqui Bay and Quebec. The distances are marked in the draught, as is the road I travelled last fall to St. Francis, which road you will cross several times. The rivers you will know by their description, when you come to them.

The river St. Francis about midway of your journey, is very still water, and may be easily rafted where you will cross it; lower down, it is so swift and rapid, that a passage must not be attempted.

Chaudiere river you will pass on a raft, it is rapid for some miles above its mouth, and should be well examined before you cross it. On passing this river, lay your course east leaving Point Levi on the left, and strike the St. Lawrence near the lower end of the Isle of Orleans, as possibly Gen. Murray may be encamped with the army on that, or the Isle of Quadoa. You are directed to look out for the

*John Shute was a son of one of the neutral French, taken at Chebucto in the war of 1745. He was an active woodsman and a good Indian hunter. He settled in Concord N. H. where he died in 1823 aged 100 years, See Shute's account of his Journey in the Appendix.

English Fleet, and may venture on board the first line of battle ship you see, whose commander will convey you to the General, who will pay you fifty pounds and give further orders as soon as you have rested from your fatiguing march.

We now crossed Lake Champlain to the west side, embarked in our boats on the 4th, and landed 200 men twelve miles south of the Isle aux Noix. Capt. Grant with his sloops was directed to cruise down the Lake near the Fort to attract the attention of the enemy, until I could get into the country. The whole day of the 5th we lay concealed in the bushes, on account of the rain, and the consequent danger of spoiling our provisions. In the afternoon of the 5th, several French boats appeared on the Lake, which continued as near our vessels as they could with safety, until after dark. Concluding their boats would watch our sloops all night, I concluded to send them back to Motte-Island; and went on board after dark, in a small boat, to give directions to that effect. The enemy who were out all night, discovered my landing, and next morning sent a force from the island, to cut off my party. My scouts discovered their intentions and counted their number as they crossed from the Fort in their boats, making it 350. At half past eleven, my left was briskly attacked. My right was protected by a bog, which the enemy did not venture over, through which however, by the edge of the Lake, seventy Rangers under Lieut. Farrington, passed round, and fell upon their rear; at the same time, we attacked them in front, and they immediately broke. Our men pursued them one mile, where they separated into small parties, and took refuge in a thick cedar swamp. By this time, the rain came on again, and our party were recalled to the boats, where I found that Ensign Wood of the 17th Regiment had been killed, and Captain Johnson shot through the body,

the left arm, and also wounded in the head. Sixteen Rangers were killed, and eight Rangers, and two men of the Light Infantry wounded. Forty Frenchmen fell, their commander Mons. La Force was wounded (mortally) with several others of his men we took 50 muskets. After the action, we embarked with our killed and wounded, and returned to the Isle of Motte, near which the brig lay. One of the vessels was despatched to Crown Point, having on board the corpse of Mr. Wood, and Capt. Johnson, (who died on his passage thither) with orders to return, with more provisions. I buried the remainder of our dead, upon a small Island, and prepared for a second landing. Being joined by the Stockbridge Indians, we determined at all events, to execute our orders; and the better to conceal our motions, I left the following directions with Captain Grant.

“ You will immediately fall down the Lake with your vessels as far as Windmill Point, and cruise there two or three days to attract the attention of the enemy from my motions. When I suppose you are near the Point, my party will land on the west side, opposite the north end of the Isle of Motte, near the river which enters the Bay at that place. If we are not attacked, we shall return on the east side and endeavour to join you near Windmill Point, or somewhere between that and the Isle of Motte. Our signal will be smoke and three guns discharged in succession at a minute’s interval; the signal to be repeated in half an hour. But should we be attacked before reaching our destination, in case we have the worst of the contest, you may expect us to make the above signals on the west side between the Isle of Motte and the place of our action on the 6th instant. As the time of our return is uncertain, I recommend that you should not come south of the Isle of Motte as a contrary wind may prevent your

getting in to relieve me. Sergeant Hacket* and ten Rangers, will remain with you in my absence. I would advise not to send parties to the Island to take prisoners, until the fifth day after my landing; as the loss of a man, may be a serious misfortune at this time, and discover our intentions to the enemy. Lieut. Holmes will probably return between the 11th and 16th days from his departure, to Missisqui Bay,—one of the sloops may cruise for him, off the Bay.

June 9th. We landed to the number of 200 men at midnight, on the west shore opposite La Motte, and marched with all despatch for St. Johns.

On the evening of the 15th, we came to the road leading from that Fort to Montreal. At eleven at night, we advanced within 400 yards of the Fort; where the enemy was found to be stronger than was expected. Seventeen sentinels were so well posted about the Fort, that surprise was impossible.

They discovered my scout, and fired guns in alarm, upon which, we retired at two o'clock and proceeded down river to St. d'Etrese. This place was reconnoitred at day break. The enemy had here a stoccade Fort, proof against small arms. We observed within it, two large store houses, and that the enemy were carting hay into the Fort. We watched an opportunity when the cart had just entered the gate way, rushed forward, and took the place before they could close the gate. Different parties had in the mean time proceeded to the several houses, (fifteen in number) which were near the garrison, and were all surprised without firing a gun. In the Fort were found twenty four soldiers, and in the houses, seventy eight prisoners including women and children. Several young men escaped to Chamblee. Finding by an examination of the pris-

*Afterwards a celebrated ship builder at Portsmouth.

oners, that we could not attack Chamblée with any prospect of success, we burnt the Fort and village, destroying a large magazine of hay and provisions, with every batteau and canoe, killed the cattle and horses, destroyed the waggons, and every thing which could be of any service to the enemy. To the women, and children I gave a pass to Montreal, directed to the officers of the several detachments under my command. After this, we continued our march to the east side of Lake Champlain. While passing Missisqui Bay opposite the Isle aux Noix, my advanced guard engaged with that of a detachment of 800 French, who were in quest of me; but the enemy's main body being one mile behind, the advance retreated to my great satisfaction. We pursued our march to the Lake, where a small party had been sent to repeat the signals, found the boats waiting for us, and immediately embarked, thus escaping the enemy who appeared in full force, a few minutes after. Mr. Grant like an able and faithful officer, performed every thing required of him, patiently waiting with his vessels, and finally securing the retreat of the party.

Several of our prisoners had been at the siege of Quebec, they reported, that the French lost 500 men; and after bombarding, and cannonading the place twelve days, they had retired to "Jack's Quarters," where General Levi had left 500 Regulars and 400 Canadians; that the remainder of the troops were quartered by two's and three's upon the inhabitants from that place to St. Johns; in Montreal 100 troops only, were stationed; the inhabitants themselves doing duty; that Chamblée Fort contained 150 men including workmen; and the remnants of the Queen's Regiment were in the village; that there were twelve cannon at St. Johns and 800 men, including workmen, who were obliged to take up arms at a moment's warning; that

300 men were stationed at the Isle aux Noix, with 100 pieces of cannon.

On the 21st the twenty six prisoners under a guard of fifty men were despatched in one of the vessels to Crown Point, while the others remained to cover Mr. Holmes' retreat. He joined us the same evening, having failed in his enterprise, by mistaking a river which falls into the Sorell for that called Wigwam Martinic which falls into the St. Lawrence near St. Francis. We reached Crown Point June 23, and encamped on Chimney point, opposite the Fort.

The General wrote me from Canajoharie soon after my return expressing himself very well satisfied with our proceedings. Preparations were now making for the army to advance into Canada. And on the 16th of August the embarkation was effected in the following order. Six hundred Rangers and seventy Indians in whale boats, in a line abreast formed the advanced guard at the distance of half a mile from the main body. These were followed by the Light Infantry and Grenadiers in two columns under Colonel Darby. The right wing was composed of Provincials commanded by Brigadier Ruggles (of Boston) who was second in command. The left was made up of New Hampshire and Boston troops, under Col. Thomas. The 17th and 27th Regiments formed the centre column, under Major Campbell. Col. Haviland was posted in front of these divisions, between the Light Infantry and Grenadiers. The Royal Artillery under Colonel Orde, followed in four rideaux. In this manner, the troops moved down the Lake forty miles the first day, and encamped on the west side. 17th we lay by, and on the 18th, embarking with a fresh south wind, proceeded within ten miles of the Isle of Motte. The roughness of the water split one of my boats and ten Rangers were drowned. On the

19th, we encamped on the Isle of Motte. On the 20th we proceeded twenty two miles further, and came in sight of the French Fort. At ten A. M. Col. Darby landed his Infantry and Grenadiers, the Rangers following without opposition, and occupied the ground over against the Fort. Next day batteries were raised and shells thrown into the Fort. On the 25th Col. Darby proposed to capture the enemy's rideaux and vessels then lying at anchor. Two companies of Regulars, four of Rangers and the Indians were selected for the service, under Col. Darby. Two light howitzers and a six pounder were silently conveyed through the trees, and brought to bear upon the vessels, before they were aware of our design. The first shot from the six pounder cut the cable of the great rideau and the wind blew her to the east shore, where we were stationed. The other vessels weighed anchor and steered for St. Johns, but grounded in turning a point two miles below the Fort. I then passed down the east shore, crossing a river 30 yards wide, and arrived opposite the vessels, where keeping up a fire from the shore, some of my men armed with tomahawks, swam off and boarded one of them. In the mean time Col. Darby captured the rideau, had her manned and took the other two. Col. Haviland immediately sent down men sufficient to work the vessels, and ordered our detachment to join the army that night. At midnight the French evacuated the Island and reached the main land, leaving their sick behind; and next morning Col. Haviland took possession of their Fort.

The second day after the departure of Monsieur Bonville, Col. Haviland ordered the Rangers to pursue him as far as St. Johns, about twenty miles down the lake, there to await the arrival of the army; and by no means to advance any nearer to Montreal. At day light, we reached St. Johns in our

boats ; found the place to be on fire, and that the enemy had retreated. Two prisoners who were here taken, informed that Monsieur Bonville was that night, to encamp half way on the road to Montreal ; that he left St. Johns at nine o'clock the night before ; that many of the troops were sick, and thought some of them would not reach the place appointed for encampment, until late in the afternoon. It being now seven in the morning, our men were directed to fortify the houses that stood near the Lake shore, in order to protect the batteaux, while the remainder should pursue Monsieur Bonville. At eight o'clock, I left the boats and baggage under the protection of 200 Rangers, whilst with 400 others and the two Indian companies, I pursued the track of the French army, now consisting of 1500 French and 100 Indians. In order to render their dance a little more merry, we pursued with such diligence, as to overtake their rear guard two miles before they reached their encamping ground. We immediately attacked and broke them, they not exceeding 200 men, and pursued the main body in good order, expecting their General would make a stand. This he did not choose ; but pushed forward to the river, where he intended to encamp ; and having crossed, broke down the bridge, which put a stop to my advance. The enemy encamped within a good breast work, which had previously been prepared for their reception. In this pursuit, we somewhat lessened their numbers, and returned in safety. In the evening Colonel Haviland's detachment arrived at St. Johns, where they encamped ; and next day proceeded down the Sorell, as far as St. d'Etrese, and there fortified their camp.

From this place, I proceeded with my Rangers down the Sorell, to bring the inhabitants under subjection to his Brittanic Majesty. We entered

the settled parts of their country by night, collected all their priests and Militia officers, and despatched them to assemble the inhabitants, who were very willing to take the oath of allegiance, keep their possessions, and surrender their arms. After this, we joined Col. Darby at Chamblee, where he had brought several pieces of light artillery to reduce the Fort; but as the garrison consisted of but fifty men, the place soon surrendered at discretion.

Sept. 2d. Our army having nothing further to perform, and having received favorable intelligence from General Amherst,⁺ and Brigadier General Murray, I was despatched to join the latter; and on the 6th reached Longueville, four miles below Montreal, opposite Brigadier Murray's camp, and reported myself to him, on the morning of the seventh. At this time, General Amherst had landed his troops about two miles from the town. Early on the same morning, Monsieur Vaudreuil the Governor and Commander in Chief of all the Canadas, proposed a capitulation to our General, the articles of which were signed on the eighth, and on the same evening, our troops took possession of the gates of Montreal. Next morning the Light Infantry and Grenadiers of the whole army, under Col. Haldiman, with two pieces of cannon and several howitzers, entered the town. Among the trophies here recovered were the colours which belonged to Pepperel's and Shirley's regiments which had been captured at Oswego.

Thus at the end of five campaigns, Montreal and the whole Canadian territory became subject to the King of Great Britain. When we consider the

*Gen. Amherst with the main body of the army, was advancing by the way of Lake Ontario to cooperate with the army from Quebec, in reducing Montreal.

great extent of country acquired by this conquest ; the opportunities for extensive commerce, the security thereby afforded to the Provinces of New York and New England ; and the irretrievable loss sustained by France, the reduction of Canada may justly be considered as one of the most important events in English history ; an event which in its consequences, will render the year 1760 more conducive than any preceding it, to the safety and glory of the British Empire.

To this acquisition, could we have added the extensive and fertile Province of Louisiana, we should have possession of the most valuable territory on the face of the globe, which exhibits more real advantages, than the golden regions of Mexico and Peru ; and which would forever have deprived the French, those inveterate enemies to British prosperity, of opportunities for reacting those scenes of barbarity, which have disgraced their most brilliant achievements in America.

Sept. 9. General Amherst directed the Rangers to prepare for an expedition to Detroit ; and on the 12th issued the following order.

“ By his Excellency Jeffrey Amherst Esq. Major General and Commander in chief of His Majesty’s forces in North America &c. &c.

To Major Rogers of His Majesty’s independent companies of Rangers.

“ You will upon receipt of this, proceed with

*These Provinces are now all that remain to Great Britain, of her vast empire in America. Within fifteen years from this period, her other Provinces threw off the yoke of allegiance ; and conducted by many of the heroes who had acquired experience in these wars, were able to subdue her armies ; and establish in the west, a powerful rival in arts, arms, and commerce.

Waite's and Hazen's* companies of Rangers, in whale boats, to Fort William Augustus, taking with you, one Joseph Poupao, alias La Fleur, an inhabitant of Detroit, and Lieut. Brehme Assistant Engineer.

From the Fort, you will continue your voyage by the north shore to Niagara; thence transporting your boats over the carrying place, to Lake Erie. Major Walters commanding at Niagara, will render you any assistance you may require, and deliver up Monsieur Gamelin, who was made prisoner at the taking of that Fortress, to be conducted with the said La Fleur to their habitations at Detroit, where upon taking the oath of allegiance to His Majesty, whose subjects they have become by the capitulation of the 8th, they are to be protected in the peaceable enjoyment of their property. You will next proceed to Presque Isle, and make known your orders to the commander at that post. You will there leave your whale boats and most of your detachment, proceeding with the remainder by land, to join General Monckton wherever he may be. Deliver him your despatches, and obey such orders as he may give you, for relieving the garrisons at the French posts of Detroit, Michilimackinac, and their dependencies; for collecting the arms of the inhabitants, and administering the oath of allegiance. This you will see administered to the said Poupao. You are to bring away the French troops, and arms to such place as Gen. Monckton shall direct.

*Gen. Hazen settled at St. Johns in Canada; and came away with the U. S. army in 1776. His house was burned by the Am. rear guard to prevent its affording comfort to the enemy. He raised a corps of 4 battalions (partly Canadians,) and continued in service until the end of the war. He was a man of uncommon abilities; was struck with an apoplexy in 1785, and was never fit for business again. He lived several years afterwards and died at Albany without issue. His nephew the Hon. Moses White of Lancaster Coos was his Aid-de-camp,

After completing this service, you will march your detachment back to Presque Isle, or Niagara, according to the orders you receive from Gen. Monckton, and leaving your boats in charge of the officer, at one of those posts, march your detachment by land to Albany, or wherever I may be, to receive further orders.

Given under my hand at Head Quarters, in the Camp at Montreal 12th Sept. 1760.

JEFF. AMHERST.

By his excellency's command,

J. APFY.

An additional order was given to be shewn only to the commander of the different posts I might touch at; the objects of the expedition being kept secret, lest the hostile Indians through whose country I was obliged to pass, should impede our march. The orders was as follows.

“Major Walters or the commander at Niagara, will judge whether there is a sufficiency of provisions at Presque Isle; and Major Rogers will accordingly take provisions from Niagara or not, as the case may be. From Montreal to Fort Wm. Augustus, will require eight days provision; from that post, he will take a sufficient quantity to proceed to Niagara. Major Rogers knows whither he is going, and what provisions he will want. A quantity should also be in store at Presque Isle, for the party Gen. Monckton will send.

JEFF. AMHERST.

Montreal, 12 Sept. 1760.

Sept. 13, 1760. In pursuance of these orders, we embarked at Montreal in fifteen whale boats. The detachment was composed of Capt. Brewer, Capt. Waite, Lieut. Brheme of the Engineers, Lieut. Davis of the Royal Artillery and two hundred Ran-

gers. At night we encamped at La Chien; next morning reached Isle de Praires, and took a survey of the Indian settlements at Cayawaga, and Canesedaga.

16th. Made an Island in Lake St. Francis, and next night encamped on the western shore, at the foot of the upper rifts; next day we ascended the rifts, and passed the right, on the north shore opposite a number of Islands.

19. At evening reached the Isle des Gallettes, and spent the next day in repairing our boats which had been damaged in passing the rapids. Ten sick Rangers were despatched to Oswego to Col. Fitch, with directions to proceed thence to Albany.

21. At twelve o'clock left the Island; but the wind being unfavorable, we passed Oswegachie, and encamped three miles above it, on the north shore.

22. Continued our course up river, and halted in the evening at the narrow passes near the Islands; but upon the wind's abating at midnight, we embarked, rowed the remainder of the night, and the following day, until we reached the scite of old Fort Frontenac, where a party of Indian hunters from Oswegachie, were encamped. The next day proving stormy attended with squalls of snow and rain, enabled us to take a plan of the old fort, situated at the bottom of a fine safe harbour. Five hundred acres of land had been cleared around the Fort, a few pine trees were still standing and the situation was very pleasant.

The soil though covered with clover, appeared to be rocky and barren. The Indians were highly pleased to hear of the surrender of Canada, and supplied us with plenty of venison and wild fowl.

25. Steered S. two miles, then W. six miles which brought us to the mouth of a river thirty feet wide; thence S. four miles where we halted to refresh. In the afternoon, steered for a mountain

bearing S. W. which we reached in the night, and proved to be a steep rock one hundred feet high. The atmosphere now became foggy, and caused us to mistake our course six miles; we rowed all night and breakfasted on shore at eight o'clock next morning; then reembarking we rowed until eight o'clock at night, and landed one hundred miles from Frontenac. This evening we passed two small islands at the end of a point extending far into the Lake; the fog prevented our taking a particular survey of them.

27. This day being windy, our party hunted deer and killed a great many of them. The land was poor and rocky as is generally the case, on the north shore of Ontario. The timber consists chiefly of hemlock and pine.

28. Steered S. W. leaving on the right, a large bay twenty miles wide, the western side of which, terminates in a point, and a small island. Proceeding fifteen miles on a course W. by S. We entered the mouth of a river called by the Indians the "Grace of man; there we encamped and found 50 Mississagua Indians fishing for salmon. Upon our first appearance, the whole party men and boys, ran down to the shore of the Lake, and in order to testify their joy at the sight of the English colours, continued firing their muskets until we had landed. They presented me with a deer just killed, and split in halves with the skin on, which is by them considered, an elegant and polite present, and significant of the greatest respect. I informed them of the success of their English brethren against their fathers the French, with which they pretended to be very well pleased.*

In the evening they invited my men to fish with

*Indian like always to carry two faces.

them. They went out and in half an hour, filled a bark canoe with salmon. They returned highly pleased with their sport, and the attentions of their tawny companions. Their mode of taking the fish is rather a curious one.

One person holds a lighted pine torch, while another strikes the fish with a spear. This is the spawning season of the salmon in these parts. The soil near the river was excellent and the country level; the timber chiefly oak and maple, or the sugar tree.*

29. Proceeded fifteen miles further on a W. S. W. course, and put into a river called the "Life of Man." The Messissaguas were hunting here to the number of 20, who paid as similar compliments to those we had received from their brethren; but instead of a deer, presented me with a young bear split in halves. The Rangers here caught a plenty of salmon. The land was level, the soil rich and of a dark colour. The banks of the Lake were very low.

30. The wind was fair, and proceeding on a south west course, with the assistance of sails and oars, we reached the river Toronto in the evening, having run 70 miles. Many long points projecting far into the Lake, occasioned frequent alterations of our course. We passed a bank twenty miles in length, behind which the land appeared level, and well timbered with oaks, hickories, maples, some poplars, and white woods. No mountains appeared in sight. The soil is principally clay. A tract of 300 acres of cleared ground, surrounds the place where formerly stood the French Fort Toronto. The deer are very plenty in this region. Some In-

*The sugar tree of the west, greatly resembles the rock maple of New England in outward appearance, but produces a much larger quantity of sap.

dians who were at the mouth of the river, were greatly alarmed at our approach, and ran into the woods. They came to us in the morning, expressing great joy at the news of our success over the French. They informed us, "that we could reach Detroit in eight days; that when the French traded here, the Indians brought their poultry from Michilimackinac, down the river Toronto; that the portage was only twenty miles from that, to a river falling into Lake Huron, which was broken by some falls, but none of any consequence; and that there was a carrying place of fifteen miles from some westerly part of Lake Erie, to a river running without any falls, through several Indian towns, into Lake St. Clair."

Toronto appeared to be an eligible place for a Factory, from which the British Government might very easily settle the north side of Erie.

Oct. 1. Steered south across the west end of Lake Ontario, and at dark, reached the shore five miles from Fort Niagara, where we passed the night and repaired some of our boats.

Oct. 2. We embarked with the following orders. The boats to be in a line. If the wind arose, the red flag was to be hoisted, and the boats were to crowd nearer each other, to afford assistance in case of a leak. By this measure, we saved the crew and arms of Lieut. McCormick's boat, which sprung a leak and sunk, with no other loss than the men's knapsacks. We halted next day at Niagara, and were supplied with blankets, coats, shirts, shoes, moccasins, &c. &c.

We also received eighty barrels of beef, and exchanged two whale boats, for as many batteaux, which proved leaky.

Oct. 3. In the evening some of my party proceeded with the provisions to the Falls; and next morning were followed by the whole detachment

which immediately commenced the portage of the boats and provisions. While we were thus occupied, Messrs Brheme and Davis proceeded onward and took a survey of the great cataract of Niagara, the roaring of which, we heard at some miles distance below.*

As the winter was now advancing, and I had orders to join Gen. Monckton from Presque Isle, I embarked on the evening of the 5th with Lieuts. Brheme and Holmes and eight Rangers in a bark canoe, leaving Capt. Brewer in command of my party, with orders to proceed to Presque Isle. That night we encamped eight miles up the river Niagara; and at noon the next day, opened upon the waters of Lake Erie. Leaving a small bay or creek upon our left, we reached the south shore at sunset; thence we proceeded west until eight o'clock, and drew up our boats upon a sandy beach, forty miles from our last night's encampment.

Oct. 7. The wind being fresh, prevent our departure until eleven o'clock, and we made but twenty eight miles in a S. W. course.

Oct. 8. Keeping a southerly course, we reached Presque Isle§ in the afternoon. We remained here till three o'clock, when my party were sent back to meet and assist Capt. Brewer; while Messrs. Brheme,

*The author was probably too much occupied at this time, to furnish his readers with a description of this grandest of nature's productions, of which, until this expedition, he had only heard, through the reports of Canadian hunters, and Indians, who have ever viewed this wonder of the world with religious awe, and revered it as the dwelling of spirits.

†Now Buffalo harbour which is the head of the Erie Canal, is surrounding by an enterprising population of nearly 10,000 and bids fair to become one of the greatest inland towns in America.

§For an account of Presque Isle or Erie Pa. see appendix.

Holmes and myself with three men, in a bark canoe furnished by Col. Bouquet, commanding the post, proceeded to French Creek, and encamped that night half way on the road to Fort du Boeuf; which we reached at ten o'clock next day. After three hours rest, our canoe was again launched, and we proceeded ten miles down the river, and encamped at the second crossings. The land on both sides of the stream, appeared to be very rich, and the timber large and valuable. We passed the night of the eleventh at the Mingo cabins; and on the twelfth lodged at Venango. From thence, we proceeded down the Ohio, and on the 17th, delivered our despatches to Brig. Gen. Monckton at Pittsburg. We left P. on the 20th, the General promising to forward my instructions, by Mr. Croghan; and also to despatch Capt. Campbell to Presque Isle, with a company of Royal Americans.

Oct. 30. We reached the Isle, and Capt. Campbell arrived the next day; Mr. Brewer with the Rangers from Niagara, had reached there the day before, having lost several boats and part of the provisions.

We now repaired our boats, and learning that a vessel expected from Niagara with provisions, had been lost in a gale on the Lake, Capt. Brewer was

*Pittsburg is situated upon the peninsula bounded by the rivers Monongahela and Alleghenny, as they unite, and form the Ohio. The town includes the scite of old Fort Du Quesno, or Fort Pitt, of which the magazine, a strong stone structure still remains. It was against this place, that the expedition of Gen. Braddock was directed. About nine miles from P. is the field of his defeat. The marks of the shot are still visible in the trees; and the bones of the slain are frequently ploughed up in cultivating the soil. Pittsburg from the natural advantages of its situation, promises to be one of the greatest manufacturing towns of America. The place is nearly surrounded by high mountains of coal, and such vast quantities of the latter, are consumed in the factories, as to envelope the town with a continual cloud of smoke and dust.

despatched with a drove of 40 cattle supplied by Col. Bouquet, and ordered to proceed by land to Detroit.

Capt. Waite was also sent back to Niagara for more provisions, and directed to cruise along the north shore of Erie, and wait for further orders about twenty miles east of the strait between Huron and Erie. Brewer was furnished with a batteau to ferry his party over the creeks, two horses, and Capt. Monter with twenty Indians composed of the six nations, Delawares, and Shawanese to protect him from the hostile Indians of the west.*

The following order of march was adopted on the re-embarkation of the party at Presque Isle.

“The boats are to row two deep; those of Major Rogers and Capt. Croghan in front; next Capt. Campbell and his company; followed by the Rangers; Lieut. Holmes who commands the rear guard, with his own boat, and that of Mr. Waite, will hold himself and crew in readiness to assist any boat in distress. In such cases, a gun will be fired for a signal. When the wind blows so hard that the boats cannot preserve their order, a red flag will be hoisted in the Major’s boat; the other boats are then to steer for the flag, and make the landing as well as may be.”

It is recommended to officers and men to pay no regard to the waves of the Lake; but when the surf is high, to ply their oars; and the men at the helm

*To those acquainted with the western country at this season of the year, the undertaking of Capt. Brewer will appear extremely arduous. They will recollect that he had much of the same ground to pass over, which was the theatre of Harrison’s campaigns in 1812 and 1813, when the transportation of a barrel of flour to the frontier, was said in some instances, to have cost the government 40 dollars. The country was also at that time, in possession of powerful savage tribes, then in their full strength and whose intimate connection with the French afforded them every inducement to hate the English, and conspire their destruction.

are desired to keep their boats quartering, in which case, no injury will happen in any storm whatever. Ten of the best steersmen of the Rangers are to attend Capt. Campbell and company. The officers of the boats will hearken to the steersmen in all cases in a storm. At evening if it is thought best to proceed in the night, a blue flag will be hoisted in the Major's boat ; which is the signal for the boats to dress.

Mr. Brheme is not to pay any regard to this order of march, but to steer where it is most convenient for him to make his observations. On landing the regulars are to encamp in the centre ; Lieut. Holmes and Mr. Croghan with their men on the right wing ; and Mr. McCormick on the left ; Mr. Joquipe with his Mohegan Indians, will constitute a piquet and encamp in front. Each wing will keep up their respective guards ; and Lieut. McCormick act as Adjutant. The generale shall be beat when ordered by the Major, as the signal for embarking.

There shall be no firing of guns unless by permission, or in case of distress. No man is to go out of the lines unless by order. Capt. Campbell will parade and review his men whenever he shall think proper. Mr Croghan will regularly report to the Major, what intelligence he may receive from the Indians during the day.

Nov. 4. We left Presque Isle and proceeded slowly with bad weather, and reached Chogagee river on the 7th, where we fell in with a party of Attawawa Indians returning from Detroit. We informed them of the reduction of the Canadas, and that we were proceeding to Detroit, to bring away the French garrison. I offered them a belt and proposed that they should go with me to Detroit, to witness the result of the expedition. They retired to hold a council, and promised an answer

in the morning. That evening we smoked the calumet or pipe of peace, all the officers and Indians smoking by turns from the same pipe. The peace being thus concluded, we went to rest keeping a strict guard, as we distrusted their sincerity. In the morning, the Indians said their young warriors would go with me, while the old ones remained to hunt for their wives and children. I gave them ammunition, a string of wampum, and charged them to send some of their chiefs with the party who drove the oxen on shore, to spread the news of our arrival ; and prevent any annoyance from their hunters.

Bad weather detained us until the twelfth, during which time the Indians held a plentiful market of venison and wild turkeys in our camp.*

From this place, we proceeded to Elk river, where we halted two days on account of bad weather.

Nov. 15. We again embarked and after passing one small river, encamped at the mouth of another about twenty five yards wide.

Nov. 18. Passed a river fifteen yards broad and encamped upon another sixteen yards over.†

From this we proceeded to Sandusky Lake,‡ which we passed and encamped upon a small river a few miles beyond.

*Wild turkies are even now very plenty in the north-western section of Ohio.

†The little river Huron which falls into the Lake near Sandusky city ; upon which are two pleasant Connecticut settlements.

‡Sandusky Bay. A modern traveller to the west, thus notices this pleasant part of Lake Erie. "Sandusky Bay was now beauteous, formed by a beautiful woody peninsula. Its appearance at this time, was peculiarly agreeable, after having for two days encountered the storms of the Lake. The weather (Nov. 11,

From this place, the following letter was despatched to Captain Beleter, the commandant at Detroit.

SIR,

That you may not be alarmed at the approach of the English troops, I send this in advance by Lieut. Brheme, to inform you that I have Gen. Amherst's orders to take possession of Detroit and its dependencies, which according to a capitulation signed on the eighth of September last, by the Marquis de Vaudreuil and Major General Amherst, now belonging to his Britannic Majesty.

I have with me letters from the Marquis de Vaudreuil to you directed, which I shall deliver upon arriving at or near your Fort. I have also a copy of the capitulation.

I am Sir,

very respectfully,

your obedient servant,

R. ROGERS.

The land on the south shore of Erie has a fine appearance; the country is level, the timber tall and of the best quality: such as oak, hickory, and locust; and for plenty and variety of game, it is not exceeded by any country in the world.

Nov. 20. I followed Mr. Brheme, and proceeded nine miles to a river three hundred feet in breadth. Here we found several Huron Sachems, who informed me that 400 Indian warriors were assembled at the mouth of the strait to obstruct our

1827) was warm and delightful. Here we first perceived the influence of Western breezes. We could not have desired a more favorable specimen of the climate, so soft and reviving was the air. A little back of the village, is an opening or prairie, where some of our party chased a flock of wild turkies; killed one of them and a plenty of black squirrels."

passage ; and that Mons. Beleter had excited them to defend their country ; that they were messengers to demand my business ; and whether the person I had sent forward had told the truth, that all Canada was surrendered to the English. I confirmed the account, informed them that Detroit was to be given up to me, and giving them a large belt spoke as follows.

BROTHERS,

With this belt I take you by the hand. Go directly to your brethren at the mouth of the strait, and tell them to go home to their towns, until I arrive at the Fort. There I shall send for you after Mons. Beleter is sent away, which will be in two days after my arrival. You shall live happily in your own country. Tell your warriors to mind their fathers the French no more, for they are all prisoners to the English, who have left them their houses and goods, upon their swearing by the Great One who made the world to become as Englishmen. They are your brothers, and you must not abuse them. When we meet at Detroit I shall convince you that what I say is true.

Nov. 22. We encamped upon the bank of a river twenty yards wide, where we had great difficulty in procuring fuel, the western shore of Erie abounding in swamps. Next day we rowed ten miles to cedar point, where we encamped. Here some of the Indians whom we had seen two days before, came to us. They said their warriors were gone up to Mons. Beleter, who was a strong man and intended to fight us. On the 24th we proceeded 24 miles, and encamped upon a long point. This night 60 Indians came to congratulate us on our arrival in the country, and offered to escort us to Detroit. They reported that Mr. Brheme and his party were confined, and that Mons. Beleter had set up an high

flag staff, with a wooden effigy of a man's head upon the top of it, and upon that, a crow; that the crow represented himself, and the man's head, me; meaning that he would pick out my brains. This artifice however had no effect, for the Indians told him (as they said) that the reverse would be the true explanation of the sign. At the mouth of the strait, the sachems desired me to call together my officers, I did so; and we spent the 26th in conciliating their savage dispositions to peace and friendship. On the morning of the 27th Mons. Babec brought me the following letter.

SIR,

I have read your letter but as I have no interpreter cannot fully understand it. Your officer informs me that he was sent to give me notice of your arrival to take possession of this post, according to the capitulation of Canada. I beg you will halt at the mouth of the river, and send me Mons. Vaudreuil's letter that I may conform to his instructions. I am surprised that no French officer accompanies you, as is usual in such cases.

I have the honor to be &c.

DE BELETER.

TO MAJOR ROGERS,

Commanding the English detachment.

Shortly after this, Capt. Barrenger with a French party beat a parley on the western shore. Mr. McCormick went to him and returned with an officer bearing the following letter.

SIR,

I have already by Mr. Barrenger informed you the reasons why I could not answer particularly your letter delivered me by your officer on the 22d.

I am unacquainted with his reasons for not retur-

ning to you. I have sent my Huron interpreter to that nation, to stop them should they be on the road, not knowing whether they are disposed in your favour or my own; and to direct them to behave peaceably; that I knew my duty to my General, and should conform to his orders. Be not surprised sir, if you find the inhabitants of this coast upon their guard; they were told you had several Indian nations with you, and had promised them the plunder of the place. I have therefore directed the inhabitants to take up arms, which may be for your safety, as well as ours: for should these Indians become insolent, you may not be able to subdue them alone.

I flatter myself sir, that when this comes to hand, you will send some of your gentlemen with Mons. Vaudreuil's letter and the capitulation.

I have the honor to be Sir,
your very humble servant,
PIGN. BELETER.

TO MAJOR ROGERS.

We encamped next day five miles up the river, having rowed against the wind; and on the 29th, despatched Capt. Campbell, with Messrs. Barrenger and Babec and their parties, with this letter.

Sir,

I acknowledge the receipt of your two letters yesterday. Mr. Brheme has not yet returned. The enclosed letter from the Marquis de Vandreuil will inform you of the surrender of Canada; of the indulgence granted to the inhabitants;—and the terms allowed to the troops of His Most Christian Majesty. Capt. Campbell will shew you the capitulation. I beg you will not detain him, as I have Gen. Amherst's orders immediately to relieve the place. My troops will halt without the town till

four o'clock, when I shall expect your answer ; your inhabitants under arms will not surprise me, as I have as yet seen no others in that condition, but savages awaiting my orders. The inhabitants of Detroit shall not be molested, they and you complying with the capitulation. They shall be protected in their estates and shall not be pillaged by my Indians, nor yours who have joined me.

Yours, &c.

R. ROGERS.

TO CAPT. DE BELETER
Commander at Detroit.

I landed half a mile from the Fort and drew up my party in front of it in a field of grass. Here Capt. Campbell joined us with a French officer bearing Capt. Beleter's compliments, and informing me that the garrison was at my command. Lieuts. McCormick and Leslie with thirty-six Royal Americans, immediately took possession of the Fort.-- The troops of the garrison piled their arms, the French colours were taken down, and the English flag hoisted in their place ; upon this, about 700 Indians who were looking on at a little distance, gave a shout, exulting in their prediction being verified, that the crow, represented the English instead of the French.

They appeared astonished at the submissive salutation of the inhabitants ; and expressed great satisfaction at our generosity, in not putting them to death. They declared that in future they would fight for a nation thus favoured by the Great Spirit.*

* The Indians kept their faith until the spring of 1763, while Major Gladwin commanded at Detroit. At this time Pontiac, an Ottawa chief, roused the Indians from the North-west, to attempt the destruction of the English settlements. By a stratagem he captured Michilimackinac and before the garrison at Detroit knew

The commander delivered me a plan of the Fort with an inventory of its stores, and armament, and before noon of December first we had collected, disarmed and administered the oath of allegiance to the militia. Monsieur Beleter and his troops were ordered to Philadelphia, under the charge of Lieut. Holmes and thirty Rangers. Capt. Campbell,* with the Royal Americans, was directed to garrison the Fort.

Lieut. Butler and Mr. Waite, were detached with 20 men to bring the French garrisons from Forts Miami and Gatanois. A party was directed to remain there if possible through the winter, to watch the enemy's motions in Illinois. Mr. McKee, with a French officer, was sent to Shawanese town on the

of the fact, he appeared before that place with 3000 warriors.— Apparently in the most friendly manner he desired an interview with Major Gladwin, saying that he wished to take his English father by the hand. But his design was betrayed by a squaw, and the garrison prepared for defence. The area of the Fort was appointed for the place of interview. Pontiac and thirty-six chiefs were allowed to enter, and the gates were closed against the remainder of his warriors. They affected some surprise, at seeing the garrison paraded, and lighted matches lying by the guns. Upon which Major Gladwin, tore away the blanket from one of the chiefs, and discovered a short gun concealed under it. He then charged Pontiac with treachery, and drove him and his chiefs from the Fort.

For eight days the Indians continued their desperate attempts to carry the Fort.

The investment continued through the summer, the Indians practising all their arts to capture the place. In 1764 Gen. Bradstreet made a movement with 3000 men to relieve the garrison, which reaching the ear of Pontiac, induced him to propose a peace. He still retained his hostility to the English, and retired to Illinois. He was stabbed two years afterwards, by an Indian, who had long followed him for the purpose. This warrior for courage and sagacity, will compare with the celebrated Tecumseh who figured in the campaigns of 1812 and 1813.

*Capt. Campbell went out to treat with Pontiac in 1763, and in Pontiac's absence, was murdered by an Indian, whose brother had been killed by a shot from the Fort.

Ohio to bring away the French troops. As provisions grew scarce at Detroit, Capt. Brewer with most of the Rangers, I ordered to Niagara, detaining Lieut. McCormick with 37 privates to accompany me to Michilimackinac.

I concluded a treaty with the several tribes of Indians living in the country, and departed for Lake Huron.

Dec. 10. This night encamped at the North end of the little Lake St. Clair, and the next evening on the west side of the strait at the entrance of a considerable river, where a large body of Indians were hunting.

Dec. 12. We came to the entrance of Huron, and met many Indians who were hunting on both sides of the outlet. We coasted along the west shore for three days, making 100 miles, but the ice-cakes now obstructed our further passage.

I consulted the Indians as to the practicability of a journey to Michilimackinac by land; but they declared it utterly impossible at this season of the year, without snow shoes; and to our great mortification, we were obliged to commence a return; in which, we were so much obstructed by ice, that we did not reach Detroit until the 21st.

Dec. 23. Leaving the command to Capt. Campbell, I departed for Pittsburg, marching along the west end of Lake Erie, and on the 2d of January 1761 reached Lake Sandusky. The soil from Detroit to this place is excellent, timbered with black and white oaks, hickory, locusts and maple, sassafras and white woods. Some immense black walnuts* are also found on the south shore of Erie.

* One of these stood some years ago, near Cataraugus Creek N.Y. thirty feet in circumference. The trunk was hollow, and used for a shop, for the refreshment of travellers. A section of it has since been taken down the canal to New-York.

Along the west end of Erie plenty of wild apples* are to be found. We passed through several rich Savannahs, (or Prairies) of many miles in extent without a tree, and clothed with long jointed grass, nearly six feet high, which by rotting every year, adds to the fertility of the soil.

Sandusky Bay or Lake is about 15 miles long, and six miles wide. Here we came to a village of Wiandots, where we halted to refresh. The next day passed through a meadow, crossed a creek, saw several Indian wigwams, and halted at a small Indian village of ten wigwams. Here we found a fine spring† rising out of the side of a small hill, with such force as to rise three feet. I presume it discharges ten hogsheads in a minute. We continued our march through the prairies where we killed plenty of deer and wild turkies, and encamped in the woods.

Jan. 4, 1761. Crossed a river twenty-five yards wide where were two wigwams. A few miles onward in a S. E. course we came to another wigwam of Wiandots, who were there for the purpose of hunting. From this, we proceeded nearly South, and passed the same river we crossed in the morning. This day we killed several deer and other game.

Jan. 5. This night we encamped upon Muskingum Creek, which is here eight yards wide.

Jan. 6. Travelled 14 miles, and encamped by a fine spring.

* The orchards about Detroit, and the River Raisin are very productive. Many of them were destroyed during the late war, by the soldiers of both armies.

† In all their reserves, the Indians have been very careful to secure to themselves, all the good springs; which in the western country are desirable objects.

Jan. 7. After travelling six miles we came to Muskingum Creek which was here twenty yards wide. An Indian town called the Mingo Cabins, lies about twenty yards from the creek, on the east side. Only three Indians were at home, the remainder being out on a hunting party. They had plenty of cows, horses, hogs, &c.

Jan. 8. This day we spent with the Indians, mending our moccasins and preparing provisions for the remainder of the march.

Jan. 9. Travelled 12 miles south east, and encamped by the border of a long meadow, where the Indians were hunting.

Jan. 10. Made eleven miles; and on our march killed there bears and two elks.

Jan. 11. Fell in with a party of Wiandot and Six-nation Indians, hunting together.

Jan. 12. Travelled six miles, and in the evening killed several beavers.

Jan. 13. Travelled six miles north east, and came to the Delawares town called Beaver town. The town covers a good tract of land, on the west side of the Muskingum, which is joined by a river opposite the town. The latter is thirty yards wide, and the former forty. Their junction makes a fine stream, which runs with a swift current to the south west. The Indians have at this place, three thousand acres of cleared land. The number of warriors belonging to the village is 180. The country from Sandusky to this place, is level and the soil very rich. We found no pine timber; but plenty of white, black and yellow oak, black and white walnut, cypress, chesnut, and Locust.*

* The honey locust of the west is armed with thorns in a most singular manner—to climb them is almost impossible—they are a great curiosity. The timber is much used for trunnels in ship building.

We rested here until the 16th and procured some corn of the Indians.

Jan. 16. Marched east 9 miles and encamped by a small river.

Jan. 19. After crossing several creeks, and two considerable streams, we came to a small river where the Delawares were hunting.

Jan. 20. Came to Beaver Creek in sight of the Ohio; there were three Indian wigwams on the west side.

Jan. 21. Travelled south-east twenty miles, and encamped with the Indians.

Jan. 23. We came again to the Ohio opposite Fort Pitt. From this post, Lieut. McCormick was ordered to cross the country to Albany with the Rangers, while I proceeded by the common road over the mountains to Philadelphia, thence to New-York, where I reported my proceedings to General Amherst, Feb. 14, 1761.



In his Advertisement, Major Rogers proposed publishing a second volume, with an account of his travels among the Cherokees, and other Indians of the south; and also of the Indian wars in America, subsequent to the year 1760, with plans of all the British Forts upon the continent. We have understood that the work was published, but have never seen it in this country.—*Am. Ed.*

APPENDIX.



GENERAL RULES FOR THE RANGING SERVICE.

1. All Rangers are to be subject to the rules and articles of war ; to appear at roll call every evening, upon their own parade, equipped each with a firelock, sixty rounds of powder and ball, and a hatchet ; at which time an officer will inspect each company ; before dismissal, the necessary guards will be drafted and scouts for the next day appointed.

2. When ordered out to the enemy's Forts, or frontiers for discovery, if your number be small, march in single file, keeping at such distance from each other as to prevent one shot from killing two men. If the ground will admit, send a man in front and one on each flank to give notice of the enemy, his number &c.

3. If your march lies through marshes or soft grounds, change your position and march in line, to prevent the enemy from tracking you, till you are clear of such ground ; then resume your files. March until quite dark before encamping ; which do, on a piece of ground which will afford the sentinels an opportunity of seeing or hearing the enemy at a considerable distance.

4. Before reaching the place, you would reconnoitre, send one or two trusty men to look out the best ground for observations.

5. If you take prisoners, examine them separately and in your return, take a different rout from that by which you went out ; by this course, you will the better discover any party which may be in your rear.

6. If you march in a body of 300 or 400 to attack an enemy, divide your party into three columns, each led by a proper officer. These columns should march in single file, the right and left columns twenty yards distant from the centre. If the ground will admit, suitable parties should be kept in the front, rear, and on the flanks, with directions to halt on all eminences, to take a view of the surrounding country, prevent ambuscades, and notify the main body of the enemy's motions. If the enemy approach your front on level ground, form a front of your three columns ; keeping out flanking parties, and a reserve in your rear, all under the command of trusty officers, to prevent being surrounded, which is the course of attack adopted by the savages when their number will admit of it.

7. If compelled to receive an enemy's fire ; fall down until it is over ; then rise and discharge your pieces at them, with good aim. If their main body equals your own, extend yourselves occasionally ; but if superior to yours, strengthen your flanking parties, and if possible repulse those of the enemy to their main body, in which case, press upon them vigorously, with equal force on each flank, and in the centre, keeping at a due distance from each other, and advancing from tree to tree, one half of the party ten or twelve yards in advance of the other.

If the enemy press upon you, let your front fire

and fall down ; then let your rear advance through them and do the like ; by which means, time will be afforded to those who were before in front, to reload their pieces ; and thus a constant fire be kept up ; so that the enemy will not easily break your order or gain your ground.

8. If you oblige the enemy to retreat, pursue them closely keeping out flanking parties to prevent their gaining eminences, and thus rallying to repulse you in turn.

9. If obliged to retreat, let the front fire and fall back, until the rear have done the same ; thus the enemy will pursue, if at all, in the face of a constant fire.

10. If the enemy are so superior in force, that you are in danger of being surrounded, let the whole body disperse, each taking a different rout, to the place of rendezvous appointed for that evening, which place should be appointed every morning. If actually surrounded, form yourselves into a square, or if in the woods, into a circle, and make a stand until the darkness of night favours your escape.

11. If your rear is attacked, the main body and flankers must face to the right or left, and form to oppose the enemy. If one of the flanks is attacked, do the same ; which will make one flank a rear guard.

12. If you intend to make a new stand against the enemy, do it on the most elevated ground within your reach.

13. When pressed by the enemy, reserve your fire till they come near, when it will throw them into consternation and give you an opportunity of rushing upon them with hatchets and cutlasses.

14. When you encamp at night, fix your sentinels in such a manner as not to be relieved from the main body till morning. Silence and secrecy

being in many cases of the last importance. Each guard should consist of six men, two of them to be constantly on duty, and to be relieved without noise. In case those on duty see or hear any thing which alarms them, they are not to speak, but one of them is silently to retreat, and inform the commanding officer.

15. Awake your whole detachment at dawn of day ; that being the time the savages usually fall upon their enemies.

16. If your scouts discover the enemy in the morning, and he is so superior in numbers that victory may be doubtful, do not attack until evening when he will be ignorant of your numbers, and if worsted, the darkness will cover your retreat.

17. Before leaving your camp in the morning, send out scouts, to discover whether there are any appearances of an enemy's having been near you in the night.

18. When you halt for refreshment, select some spring, post your party so as to avoid surprise, and let a small party way-lay the path by which you came, to intercept a pursuing enemy.

19. In your return from a scout, in crossing rivers, avoid the usual fords, lest the enemy should have way laid them.

20. If you pass Lakes, keep at a distance from the shore, lest in case of an ambuscade, or an attack from the enemy, your retreat should be cut off.

21. If the enemy pursue your rear, take a circuit until you come to your tracks, there form an ambush and give them the first fire.

22. When you return from a scout and come near our Forts, avoid the usual roads, and avenues, leading to them, lest the enemy should be there in ambush to receive you, when almost exhausted with fatigue.

23. When you pursue a party that has been near

our Forts, do not follow their tracks directly, for that would discover you to their rear guards, who are then if ever, very alert ; but by a different rout, meet them in some narrow pass, or receive them in ambush, when and where they least expect you.

24. If your journey is by water, choose the evening for embarking, as you will then have the whole night before you to pass undiscovered by any parties of the enemy, on the hills, which command a prospect of the Lake or river you are upon.

25. The boat next the sternmost should wait for her, the third for the second, and so on to prevent separation and be ready to assist each other on any emergency.

26. Appoint one man in each boat to look out for fires on the adjacent shore, from the number, and size of which, you may form some judgment of the force of the enemy ; and whether you can venture to attack them or not.

27. If you find the enemy upon the banks of a river, or Lake which you imagine they will attempt to cross on being attacked, leave a detachment on the opposite shore, while with the remainder you surprise, and drive them to the Lake shore or compel them to cross.

28. If you can not satisfy yourself of the enemy's force by their fires, conceal your boats at some distance ascertain their number by a reconnoitering party, when they depart in the morning, marking their course ; when you may pursue or not, as prudence shall direct. That you may not be discovered by the enemy upon Lakes and rivers, it is the safest course to lay concealed with your boats and party all day, without noise or show ; and pursue your rout by night. In all cases give out parole and countersigns in order to know each other in the dark ; and also appoint a rendezvous for each man to repair to in case of accident.

It may sometimes be necessary that these rules should be departed from and other arts and stratagems adopted, when in the judgment of the officer, the emergency of the occasion shall require; in most cases however, they will be found to be well adapted to the nature of the service.

NOTICE OF SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON.

Sir William Johnson who makes so considerable a figure in the history of the French war, was born in Ireland in 1714, and in 1734 at the solicitation of his uncle Sir Peter Warren, came to this country and settled upon the Mohawk, where Sir Peter had acquired a large estate by marriage. Sir William became thoroughly acquainted with the Indian language and manners, and acquired a greater influence over them than any other white man ever possessed. He rose from the humble station of a private, to the rank of a General, and commanded at Lake George in 1755. But it has been said that the title he there obtained, belonged to General Lyman. In 1759, he captured Fort Niagara; and in 1760 joined Gen. Amherst at Oswego, and assisted in the reduction of Montreal. He died at his seat July 4, 1774 at the age of 60, very rich, in consequence of the increased value of his vast estates, after the French war. His house known as the Hall, a large stone building was erected in 1773, and is situated a mile west of Johnstown. Cols. Guy, and John Johnson (sons of Sir William,) espoused the Royal cause in the revolution, and removed to Canada. In consequence of this, their estates were confiscated. Col. John afterwards came down with a party from Canada, and made prisoners of many of his old friends and neighbors.

The celebrated Brandt was a natural son of Sir William, who sent him to Germany for his education; he afterwards returned to his nation, and became one of the most ferocious warriors who harassed the northern and western frontiers, during the revolutionary war. His descendants have in a great measure, abandoned their savage state, and reside in Canada, with some considerable appearance of style. The most important event in the life of Gen. Johnson, was the battle at Lake George, for which he was knighted. This action took place on the 8th of September 1755; the circumstances are as follows.

BATTLE AT LAKE GEORGE.

In 1755, Gen. Johnson, lay at Lake George, with a considerable force of provincials and regulars and also a large body of Indians of the six nations, under the famous Captain Hendrick, with a design of reducing Crown Point. Hearing of this, the Governor of Canada despatched Gen. Dieskau with 3000, French troops, and a numerous body savages, to cover Crown Point, and compel the English to retire. His first object was the capture of Fort Edward, which would cut off the retreat of Gen. Johnson; but the Indians and Canadians, who accompanied him, were in such dread of the guns of the Fort, that he relinquished his first design, and determined to attack the English army, at Lake George. Sunday Sept. 7, at midnight, a scout informed the English General, of the enemy's approach. Col. Williams with 1200 men was directed to proceed in advance of the main body; and found their whole army at Rocky Brook, drawn up in the form of a semicircle, into which, the English un-

consciously advanced,* until a heavy fire upon their front and flanks, discovered to them the position of the French. Col. Williams and Capt. Hendrick were immediately shot down, and their troops after a brave defence and a severe loss in men, were drawn off by the coolness and intrepidity of Col. Whiting.

The centre of the English army occupied the hill, where the ruins of fort George are now seen; and the enemy came in sight, at half past eleven, following closely the retreat of the advanced guard. On coming in sight of the English they halted upon* the crest of a hill which gave the English time to make preparations for battle. The ground on either flank being low, marshy, and covered with trees, Gen. Dieskau ordered the Canadians to the left, and the Indians to the right, with directions to out flank, and surround the enemy, while his regulars attacked their front, which they did, forming by platoons with little effect. Gen. Johnson being wounded, retired to his tent, leaving the command to Brigadier Gen. Lyman, who for five hours gallantly defended his position, with the aid of Capt. Eyre's artillery.* A few cannon shots put the

* A drove of deer rushed down the hill and passed the English ranks. Soon after this an Indian runner appeared who was hailed by Capt. Hendrick with "whence come you" He answered Montreal. A fire then commenced from the Indians in ambush.

† This delay of the French saved the English army, which must have been broken had they followed up their first success, and vigorously attacked their centre then in confusion by the arrival of the fugitives.

§ The artillery had been brought from Fort Edward the day before of this, the Indians were not aware. They are more fearful of the effects of artillery, than musketry, though less dangerous; on this occasion, the tops of the trees suffered more than the enemy.

flanking parties to flight; upon which, the French threw their whole concentrated force upon the English right, which consisted of Ruggle's, Pomeroy's and Titcomb's regiments, and extended from the road, to what was afterwards the scite of Fort William Henry. There after an hours contest with cannon and musketry, a general charge was made by the British and Indians, which broke and put the French to flight. Lieut. Gen. the Baron Dieskau was found leaning against a stump badly wounded; seeing a soldier approach, he was in the act of drawing out his watch to present to him, when the other supposing he had a pistol, shot him through the thigh. He was carried to the Fort by eight men in a blanket,* where he told Gen. Johnson that he had more troops near at hand, and it is said, thus prevented a pursuit, which was urged by Gen. Lyman; but Johnson positively forbade the movement. In the report of the action, he did not ever mention the name of the man, whose courage and talents so largely contributed to the success of the English army.

Crown Point would in all probability have fallen, had the French been closely pursued, and harassed in their retreat. The delay however afforded them time to secure that Fort, and also to fortify themselves strongly at Ticonderoga. The loss of the English, was 216, killed* and 96 wounded. Gen. Dieskau estimated his loss at 1000. He lost a Major General, and Mons. St. Pierre, the partisan who commanded the Indians.

The French had left their baggage two miles in

* Gen. Dieskau afterwards commanded a division of the French army which repulsed the first attempt of Wolfe, against Quebec, a short time before he carried the heights of Abraham.

† Among the killed were Cols. Titcomb and Williams, who fell universally lamented.

rear of the place of action, where, it was attacked and taken by Capts. Folsom and McGinness, at the head of 100 men; they then way-laid the retreating French, and killed a great number of them.

Gen. Johnson was greatly censured for neglecting to follow up this success. The whole blame of his not doing to, was endeavoured to be cast upon Gen. Shirley, who was then the commander in chief, but altogether out of the way of the theatre of war. One of Gen. Johnsons protegees stated that he was so near him, when he received his wound, that he saw the ball enter.* The General's desire appeared to be, rather to escape destruction himself, than to destroy the enemy. He had been some time at Lake George, but had neglected to fortify his camp, until the morning of the action, when a number of trees were felled, and an abattis constructed. It was not until the Rangers had reconnoitred Ticonderoga, and reported that the French were engaged in strengthening that Fort, that Gen. Johnson felt himself secure from danger, and at leisure to erect a Fort at the south end of Lake George. This was called Fort William Henry, in honour of one of the Royal family.

The late Nathaniel Eastman of Concord was with the detachment under Colonel Williams and was wounded in the knee. He however continued to discharge his musket at the enemy and was left almost alone by the retreat of the advanced guard. He limped through the woods and joined his friends who fought some distance upon a retreat, and endeavored to make a stand by the Bloody Pond. From this place they were driven onward

* This wound was thought by the troops to be a fortunate circumstance both for Johnson, and the army; for it permitted Gen. Lyman to repulse the French, which repulse procured Johnson the honour of knighthood, which might have been otherwise had he commanded in person.

before the French and Indians until relieved by the appearance of Johnson's army drawn up behind an abatis and breast work of logs hastily thrown together. The artillery was discharged at the Indians who fled yelling into the woods. The appearance of the French troops with their burnished arms, elegant equipment and superior discipline, produced a momentary panic among Johnson's troops; but as the French did not charge them, they soon recovered their coolness and behaved well. The Mohawks having lost their old Chief, Captain Hendrick, kept back in the woods until the French fire slackened, and they began to retire.

They then advanced with the English to complete the rout. They were so enraged at the loss of Capt. Hendrick, as to demand of the General, that the Baron Dieskau should be delivered up to their vengeance. Gen. Dieskau praised the behaviour of Johnson's troops—he said that “in the morning they fought like brave boys, at twelve o'clock like men, and in the afternoon like devils.” On being told of the successful attack of Folsom and McGinness upon his retreating troops and the capture of all their baggage, he exclaimed with the greatest sang froid, “*Fortune le guerre!*” The General had learned the art of war under the celebrated Field Marshall Count Saxe, and was highly esteemed in the French army. He probably would have been more successful in his enterprise, had it not been for the precipitancy of his Indian allies in opening their fire upon Williams' corps before they had advanced sufficiently far, to allow his ambuscade to take complete effect and cut them off entirely.* He never fully recovered of his wounds but died in consequence of them in 1767.

* Dieskau intended to draw the English into the ambuscade so far, that his regulars who were posted in the centre, should first

NOTICE OF MAJOR ROGERS.

Major Rogers went to England soon after the conclusion of hostilities in America, and resided there until the year 1775, when he returned to his native country. He visited Cambridge and Medford then occupied by the Continental troops.— Washington refused him permission to enter the camp, but Colonel Stark of the first N. H. Regiment and others of his old companions in arms visited him at the Hotel in Medford. He soon afterwards joined Sir William Howe at New-York; but in a short time, returned to England and never visited this country again.

He was a man of great presence of mind, intrepidity and perseverance in the accomplishment of his plans; and would no doubt have acted a distinguished part in the Revolution, had he chosen the side of the people. He was a man six feet in height, well proportioned, and one of the most active and athletic men of his time. The Indians entertained a great dread of him, and with very good reason.

The late General Stark, who had been for years the companion and friend of Rogers, gave him full credit for his courage, and was of opinion that he would have proved a true man to his native country, had not suspicions been entertained of his designs. He was denounced as a tory before he had avowed his principles. Washington considered him a British agent, and as such, prohibited his entering the camp.

attack them. This would have enabled the Canadians and Indians on the flank to fall in their rear and cut off the retreat. The hasty attack of his Indians upon the advanced Mohawks disconcerted the plan.

NOTICE OF COLONEL WILLIAM STARK.

Colonel William Stark who took a considerable part in the scenes of the French war, was the elder brother of the General of that name. He is represented as a man of considerable address, possessed of a chivalrous spirit and undaunted courage. He served with reputation as an officer of Rangers, in the expeditions about Ticonderoga and Lake George—was with Amherst at Louisburg, and fought under the victorious banners of Wolfe at Quebec.

At the commencement of the Revolutionary contest, he applied for the command of one of the N. H. regiments, to which he considered himself entitled by the experience, and the reputation for courage and conduct, which he had acquired in the "seven years' war." For reasons best known to themselves, the General Assembly gave the regiment to another, while Stark, indignant at what he considered a shameful neglect on their part, accepted overtures from the enemy, repaired to New-York, and became a Colonel in the British service. He was consequently proscribed and his estates confiscated. He was thrown from his horse on Long Island and killed, which the General his brother observed "was the best thing William ever did in his life." When on the eve of departure for New-York, he communicated his intentions to his brother, and urged him to accompany him. He declined—they shook hands and parted never to meet again.

Such was the end of a man calculated to shine in a military career, who but for the violence of his resentment in consequence of disappointed expectations, might have been numbered in the first rank of that glorious band of patriots, whose sufferings and

perils have entitled them to the eternal gratitude of posterity.

The family of Colonel Stark received about 150*l.* each, being one half of the sum allowed them by the British Government; of the other half, they were defrauded by an agent. The Colonel possessed a large estate, part of which was situated in Fryeburg, Me. and was a grant from the Crown for services in the "seven years war." The hill called Stark's hill took its name from him. His eldest son John became an officer in the British army.

NOTICE OF WILLIAM MOORE.

William Moore of Stratham, one of Rogers' Rangers, was upon a scout with ten others when they were attacked by a party of savages. In the fight which ensued 17 Indians and 7 Rangers fell. Of the survivors of the battle—one escaped, another was massacred, his heart torn out and forced into Moore's mouth, who was carried captive to the wilds of the west. Here he was upon the point of being sacrificed—and his body filled with splinters to which they were about to apply the torch, when the squaw whose son had first laid hands upon him, from whom he had wrenched a tomahawk and buried it in his brains, came forward and declared that she would adopt him for her son. By his knowledge of the arts of the whites, he gained the affections of the Savages and remained with them six years, until by pretending sickness on account of a bleeding at the mouth, in consequence of running a stick down his throat, he persuaded them to take him to a physician at Montreal. By this stratagem he obtained his liberty and returned to his friends. He died at Stratham in 1790, *Æt* 63.—*Hist. Coll.*

SKETCH OF THE EXPEDITION TO QUEBEC IN 1759.

After the repulse at Ticonderoga, and the capture of Louisburg the command of the English armies in America devolved upon Major General Amherst and the following disposition was made of the British forces. A division under the orders of General Wolfe was to attempt the reduction of Quebec; a second under Gen. Amherst was to be led against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, while General Prideaux conducted a third composed of Provincials and Indians, against the strong hold of the French at Niagara. Upon the approach of Amherst, Ticonderoga and Crown Point were evacuated. Niagara was besieged by General Prideaux in due form. The French made great efforts to relieve the place and a battle was fought under the walls, in the heat of which, their Indian allies deserted them and victory declared for the English. The place soon after surrendered to Sir William Johnson, who assumed the command after the fall of General Prideaux, who had been killed by the bursting of a cannon.

In the spring of 1759, General Wolfe sailed from Louisburg with an army of 8000 men, and a formidable train of artillery. After a favorable passage he arrived near the Isle of Orleans below Quebec, and effected a landing without much difficulty. From this position he took a survey of the fortifications; and such appeared to be their strength, that bold and adventurous as he was, he entertained doubts of success. Quebec is situated on the north side of the St. Charles. The upper town is built upon a lofty rock which extends with a bold steep front far to westward, rendering the city impregnable on that side; and the lower town is situated at the base of the same rock. On the other side the river St. Charles with its ravines and broken channel, constitutes a good defence. On its eastern

bank a French army of 10,000 men were strongly entrenched, their rear being protected by an impenetrable wood. This army was commanded by the celebrated Marquis de Montcalm who had two years before captured the Forts of Oswego and William Henry with such astonishing celerity, and in 1758 driven the English army of 16000 men from the walls of Ticonderoga, But with all these obstacles to surmount, the British hero was possessed of a soul too lofty and too full of martial enthusiasm, to harbour for an instant, the idea of relinquishing the enterprise, until all human means in his power for its accomplishment, had been tried.

He took possession of Point Levi on the south side of the St. Lawrence, and burnt the houses, but found the fortifications far too strong to be attacked, and that his batterics were at too great a distance to make an effectual impression upon the city. He next resolved to pass the Montmorency and attack the enemy in their intrenchments. Thirteen companies of grenadiers and a part of the 2d Royal Americans were landed near the mouth of that river, while Generals Murray and Townshend prepared to cross it higher up. The first part of the design was to attack a redoubt which could not easily be succoured by the enemy, with the hope that their ardour would lead them to a general engagement. But the wary Montcalm knowing his advantage of position, suffered the English to take possession of the redoubt, without making an effort to relieve its defenders. The British troops were then led up to the entrenchments but were received with such a warm and steady fire, as compelled them to repass the Montmorency and return to the Isle of Orleans. In conjunction with the Admiral, the General next attempted the destruction of the French fleet. He failed in this, but landing at Chambaud on the north shore, he burned a large magazine of arms, ammu-

dition, provisions and clothing. Hearing at this time, of the good fortune of the British armies at Niagara, Ticonderoga and Crown Point, Wolfe could not help contrasting his own embarrassments, with the success of his confederates. The chagrin of disappointment preyed upon his lofty spirit and delicate constitution; and his health began to decline. He expressed a resolution never to survive the disgrace which would attend a failure of the enterprise. His despatches at this time to Mr. Pitt appear to have been written with a view to prepare the nation for the disaster which might follow.

“We have” says he, “almost the whole force of Canada to oppose. In such a choice of difficulties, I own myself at a loss how to determine. The affairs of Great Britain, I know, require the most vigorous measures; but the courage of a handful of brave men should be exercised only where there is hope of a favourable event.” Amherst the Commander in Chief who had agreed to advance to his support, after the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, led his army into winter quarters. Wolfe though disappointed at this failure, suffered not a word to escape him which reflected upon the conduct of that General; for this distinguished man whose character history is proud to delineate, was as remarkable for his delicacy, as for the other qualities of his noble mind. At the same time, it is certain that the misfortunes and cruel embarrassments of the English were wholly owing to the want of exertion in the commander in chief.

It was next resolved to attempt a landing above the town. The camp at Orleans was broken up, the army embarked on board the fleet, one division landed at Point Levi, and the other carried higher up the river. A plan suited to the adventurous spirit and genius of the British chief now suggested itself. It was proposed to scale a precipice on the

north bank of the river, during the night, and thus gain the heights of Abraham behind the city. The precipice was accessible only by a narrow path, the stream was rapid, the shore irregular, the landing such as could not easily be found in the dark, and the steep above, difficult of ascent, even without opposition from an enemy. The English Gen. knew that to gain these heights, would compel the French to an engagement ; but he also knew that the destruction of a great portion of his troops would be the consequence of a failure. It was necessary however that something should be done. A strong detachment was put on board the vessels destined for the service ; and falling silently down with the tide, the English arrived an hour before day break at the place fixed upon. Wolfe was the first man who leaped on shore. He was followed by the Highlanders and Light Infantry of the van, who were intended to secure a battery not far from the entrenched path by which the troops were to ascend, and to cover the landing of their associates. The violence of the stream forced them some distance from their intended place of debarkation, and compelled them to scramble up the rock by the aid of its projections, and the branches of trees which grew in the clefts; yet such was the ardour of the General, and the alacrity of the troops, that in a short time they reached the heights, and instantly dispersed the guard by which they were defended. The battery was secured, the whole army followed, and when the sun arose, was arranged under its respective officers.

The French General at once perceived that a battle which must decide the fate of Quebec and Canada, was now unavoidable, and prepared for it, with an activity worthy of his former exploits. He left his strong position upon the Montmorency and passed the St. Charles, to attack the army of the be-

siegers. As soon as this movement was perceived, Wolfe eagerly formed his order of battle. His right wing was commanded by General Monckton, and covered by the Louisburg grenadiers; his left by General Townshend protected by the Highlanders and Light infantry. Webb's regiment formed the reserve. The right and left wings of the French were composed of European and colonial troops. A body of French from the centre, advanced against the English. They were supported by two field pieces and preceded by an irregular corps of Militia and Indians who kept up a galling fire.

The movements of the French indicating a design to turn the British left, Wolfe ordered the battalion of Royal Americans, to that part of his line where they were formed *en potence* under General Townshend, presenting a double front to the enemy. The French marched bravely up and began the action; but the English reserving their fire until they were very near, then gave it with decisive effect. The two Generals opposed each other—Wolfe posting himself on the right of the English, and Montcalm on the left of the French. In the beginning of the action, the British General received a shot through the wrist, but wrapping his handkerchief around it, ordered the grenadiers to charge; and advancing himself at their head, with all the zeal and intrepidity of his character, received a mortal wound, and was carried to the rear. General Monckton, now assumed the command in chief, and was succeeded in his place by General Townshend. The Marquis de Montcalm also fell, and his troops charged by the English with fixed bayonets, and by the Highlanders with their broadswords, gave way and after one attempt to rally, were driven partly into Quebec and partly into the river St. Charles. Thus their attempt to turn the English left completely failed. Meanwhile Wolfe forgetful of his suffer-

ings and alive only to glory, surveyed the field with the utmost anxiety. He had been shot through the wrist in the commencement of the action but without manifesting any uneasiness continued to encourage his soldiers. Soon after another ball pierced his groin, and a third his breast, which compelled him to be removed from the heat of the contest. His eye was still fixed upon the movements of the troops, until faint with the loss of blood he reclined his head upon the shoulder of one of his staff, continuing his enquiries as to the fate of the day. Although nature was nearly exhausted, he roused himself at the words, "they fly, they fly!" which reached his ear. "Who fly?" exclaimed the hero. On being told the French, he added, "then I depart content;" and immediately expired with the shout of victory in his ear.

Thus fell the gallant Wolfe, from whose talents his country had indulged the highest expectations, and whose conduct through his short but brilliant career, fully demonstrated that they were not formed of one who was unable or unwilling to support them. Brave, enterprising, dignified, and humane, he possessed all the virtues of the military character. His actions are held up to the imitation of every British soldier, while numerous songs and ballads proclaim his merits and perpetuate his fame with his countrymen.

But while we pronounce the eulogium of successful intrepidity, let us not forget that valour may be displayed when it is not rewarded by fortune; and that if the victors upon this glorious occasion, are celebrated for courage and conduct, their noble antagonists are likewise entitled to praise. The Marquis de Montcalm was an opponent worthy of Wolfe. Their minds were of kindred vigor—the same love of glory animated both, and led them to the same fearlessness of danger—the same contempt

of death. His troops being defeated notwithstanding all his exertions, Montcalm expressed the highest satisfaction upon learning that his wound was mortal; and, when told that he could live but a few hours, he replied, "so much the better, I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec."

The battle of the heights of Abraham* was followed by the reduction of the city and ultimately by the capitulation of Canada. The French made some attempts to recover their lost dominions; and Monsieur the Count Levi after driving back to the city a body of 3000 men under General Murray, opened his batteries before Quebec. But a strong fleet arriving from England, compelled him to raise the siege and retire to Montreal, where Mons. Vaudreuil, the Governor General had concentrated the whole strength of the Colony; and where he surrendered his army and the Province of Canada to General Amherst, Sept. 8, 1760.

MR. JOHN SHUTE'S ACCOUNT OF A JOURNEY FROM
CROWN POINT TO QUEBEC IN 1760

In March 1760, General Amherst, Commander in chief of the British forces in America, having determined to enter Canada by way of Oswego, and Lake Ontario, and thence down the St. Lawrence to Montreal, where the French army was concentrated, while another division of his troops approached the same point by way of the Sorell, desired to

* Many of those who gained laurels upon the plains of Abraham were natives of New England. Among these were a corps of Rangers who had served at Louisburg, and from thence proceeded with the expedition to Quebec. They were commanded by Captain William Stark of New-Hampshire, the elder brother of the late General.

forward a despatch to General Murray at Quebec, informing him of his intended movement, and requiring his co-operation. With this view, he directed Major Rogers to select a suitable party from the corps of Rangers, whose fidelity could be relied upon, and who were well acquainted with the woods, to proceed from Crown Point to Quebec, and deliver the despatch to the commanding General at that city. The distance was then estimated at five hundred miles, a great portion of which distance lay through a country infested by numerous hordes of hostile Indians, and by a French population, whom the previous ravages of the Rangers had rendered any thing but friendly to the English name.

From the dangerous nature of the undertaking, a reward of fifty pounds was offered to any four who would volunteer for the service. Sergeant Beverly who had been a prisoner of war and escaped from Canada the preceding year, with Luxford Goodwin, Joseph Eastman and John Shute,* volunteered for the expedition. They took charge of the despatch together with a large number of other letters, from officers at Crown Point, to their friends in the army at Quebec; and on the third of April, were landed at Missisqui Bay. Thence they were ordered to proceed to the river St. Francis, by the same rout the Rangers pursued, when they destroyed the Indian village upon that river, the year before. Rogers directed them to keep in the woods, avoiding all settlements, and upon no consideration to cross the river in the day time, for fear of discovery by the Indians.

With these instructions, they left the Bay and proceeding many days through wet marshy grounds,

* Eastman and Shute both belonged to Concord, N. H. They were companions and messmates through the French war; and equally distinguished for their enterprise and good conduct.

where they could scarcely find a dry spot to encamp upon at night, they reached the St. Francis one Sunday morning, striking the river just above a rapid. They now consulted whether it was better for them to *disobey orders*, and cross immediately, or to wait until night. They came to a conclusion that they were far enough from the army, to be their own masters, and determined to cross the river as soon as possible. For this purpose, they collected a quantity of driftwood and constructed two rafts, at some distance above the falls, in order that two of the party might first cross, and if they found no cause of alarm, notify the others to follow with the letters. By casting lots, it fell upon Shute and Eastman to cross first, who immediately pushed off; but as they had no better instruments than poles with which to work the raft, the current proving stronger than they expected, carried them some distance down stream, and they saved themselves by leaping upon a rock, just at the head of the Falls, against the point of which, their raft struck. They saved their guns and knapsacks, with all their provisions and ammunition.

After reconnoitring, and finding no traces of the enemy, they called to the others to come over, warning them to attempt the passage higher up the stream; but not sufficiently regarding this caution, their raft was suffered to enter the current, where it soon became unmanageable. Finding that they must go over the falls, they threw down their poles and cried for mercy. Shute and Eastman told them to throw off their clothes and sit down, which they did; and the raft went down the rapids. From a tree which overlooked the stream, Shute and his companion watched their descent, as they alternately appeared and disappeared, passing through a rapid of nearly an eighth of a mile in extent. They then ran down to the foot of the fall, when they

found Beverly climbing up the bank, and Goodwin clinging to a press of drift wood, whom they extricated from his perilous situation. By this disaster, two of the party, had lost their arms clothing, and provisions, together with all the letters. Shute and Eastman here divided their clothing, and provisions with the other two, and the whole party again consulted as to the expediency of going forward, or returning. They considered that if they should fall into the enemy's hands without their papers, they would be in danger of being hanged as spies; and if they went back Rogers would call them cowards, and traitors, who had made up a false and improbable account to excuse their own imbecility. They concluded rather to take their chance of the cruelty of the enemy than meet the reproaches of Rogers,* and proceeded on their journey. From this place, they proceeded through a wet swampy country, with scarcely any provisions for several days, until one Sunday morning, when they heard the sound of a bell. They followed the sound and came in sight of people going to a Catholic Chapel. Concealing themselves until the services had commenced and all was quiet, they entered a house whose occupants were at church, helped themselves to provisions and clothing, and retired.

From this they followed a foot path into the woods, which at a quarter of a mile's distance, brought them to a log house, against the gable end of which, a ladder rested leading to a door fastened with a padlock, which breaking open with their hatchets, they discovered a large chest, filled with female clothing of the richest quality.† Help-

* A sentiment worthy of the Grecian Clearchus who declared that it was the duty of a soldier to be more in fear of his commander, than of the enemy.

† Shute made himself a frock of one of the gowns, and brought home another of the finest silk.

ing themselves to a share of the plunder, they pursued their march in the woods, avoiding all roads, until nearly night, when they ventured again to approach the settlements.* After the village people had retired to rest, they entered a barn in quest of a hog for provision. As they opened the door, a calf ran out which they killed and divided into four parts. Then proceeding to the garden of a gentleman's house, they rifled it of what vegetables they had occasion for, and after doing all the mischief they could in the garden, it being part of the Rangers' creed to do their enemies all the damage in their power, retreated. Retiring with their booty about four miles into the woods, they kindled a fire, refreshed themselves with part of their provision, dried the remainder in the smoke, and made moccasins of the skin.

Pursuing their march three or four days, they ascended a high hill, the top of which exhibited memorials of an Indian encampment the winter before.

From this eminence, they saw for the first time, the river St Lawrence, and a large encampment of regular troops upon the bank. This was about twenty miles above Quebec. The party were here in doubt whether the troops were French or English; but sergeant Beverly determined against the consent of the others, that he would ascertain whether they were friends or foes; and if foes, would make a signal that they might take care of themselves. His companions watched his progress, saw him stopped by the sentinel, and after a moment's pause, enter the camp, where several officers shook hands with him; upon this, they all followed and were received with open arms by the English. After stating their business to the commander, he put

* Supposed on the Chaudiere river.

them on board a boat to proceed to head quarters at Quebec, where they arrived at midnight, and were conducted to General Murray's Kitchen. There they slept upon the floor until morning, when they were severally conducted into a large hall lined with mirrors in which were about one hundred officers. There says Mr. Shute, "each man received a glass of liquor, such as I have never tasted before nor since, nor have I ever drank any thing so good in my life." After this they were directed to tell their several stories, which as they had previously agreed upon a statement of facts, coincided very well although they were separately examined. The General and the soldiers made them welcome, and invited them to remain as long as they pleased. After resting a few days, they applied to the General for leave to return, who told them to wait a few days longer, and they should move with the army towards Montreal, and that he would give them four guineas each, extra pay. They did so, and joined their own corps at Montreal in September, Rogers arriving soon after, there they witnessed the surrender of Canada Sept. 8, 1760.

General Murray is represented by Mr. Shute, as a small active old gentleman prompt and decisive in all his movements, and a great favorite with the soldiers. While he commanded the garrison at Quebec after the surrender of that city to the English, some time before his advance to Montreal, Monsieur Levi made an attempt to recapture Quebec. General Murray advanced to meet him at Sillery with three thousand men, a severe action took place, and the English were driven back to the city, which they defended against the subsequent siege of the French General; who after several attacks and an ineffectual cannonade, drew off his troops and retired towards Montreal.

ST. FRANCIS.

The village of St. Francis, situated near the Lake of the same name, consisted of about 40 wigwams, thrown together in a disorderly clump. It contained a Catholic Church,* in which, mass was performed night and morning. Every Sunday the congregation was summoned by a bell, and the attendance was general. The ceremonies were performed by a French friar, who lived in the midst of the Indians for the benefit of their souls: he appeared to be in that place, what the legislative branch is, in civil governments; the grand sachem being the executive. The inhabitants lived in perfect harmony, holding most of their property in common. They were extremely modest, prone to indolence at home, and reluctant to undergo the labours of planting, or the fatigues of the chase; in fact, the passions of avarice and revenge exciting them to war and plunder, appear to be the most powerful stimulants which operate upon the savage mind.

Thomas Ames, of Northumberland, N. H. was seized at his house by a party of St. Francis Indians and carried home to their settlement to be tried upon a charge of robbing their hunters' camps of fur. He was tried by their council—the sachem and his old men sitting in front, and the squaws behind them, to keep the record of the proceedings. Nothing being found against Ames, he was acquitted. Upon which, the chief told the court, that Thomas had been detained from his business, and must be compensated; accordingly a birch bucket was passed round, and each one put into it a piece of money, as damages, for the false imprisonment. After which, he was directed to wrestle with their

* Among the spoils of St. Francis, Rogers brought away a small Catholic image curiously wrought in solid silver, weighing about 10 lb.

young men, and being strong and active, threw them all, taking care to make their fall as hard as possible. The old men laughed heartily at their young warriors' expense. The chief treated him well, kept him that night in his wigwam, where he slept in a down bed, (the best he had ever seen,) the sheets of which were made of silk handkerchiefs sewed together; and next day suffered him to go about his business. The Indian settlement at St. Francis is supposed to have been made under the following circumstances.

After Lovewell's fight in 1725, had introduced the English to the Pequawket country, the Ameriscoggin and Pequawket tribe retired to the head of Connecticut river; where they remained peaceably for two years; at the end of that time, a quarrel arose among them, and the Ameriscoggin tribe departed for Canada, and settled upon the river St. Francis, where they remain to this day. The Pequawkets remained at the head of the Connecticut. Philip afterwards became their chief.—He was one of Rogers' Rangers—went with him to destroy St. Francis—and was the first man who entered the Fortress of Louisburg at its capture by General Amherst. This provoked the Rangers, "that a d—d Indian should get the start of them." His squaw was called Mary Missle; and is remembered by old people in the northern parts of N. H. as an excellent moccasin maker. Philip joined the U. S. in the Revolution; saying that he and his tribe were whig Indians: and would fight for their country.

The night before the surprise of St. Francis, the Indians were engaged in a wedding frolick. Lieut. Jacob Farrington of Andover Mass. and Benjamin Bradley of Concord N. H. two of the stoutest men of their time, headed one of Rogers' parties.

They came to the door of the house, where the wedding had taken place, and pushed against it so violently, that the hinges gave way, and Bradley fell in headlong among the Indians, who were asleep upon the floor. They were all slain before they could make any resistance.

In returning from this expedition, the Rangers struck Connecticut river at the upper Coos; which they mistook for the lower Coos. Bradley here remarked, that if he was in his full strength, he would be at his father's house in three days. He took a point of compass which at the lower Coos, would have brought him to the Merrimack; but at the upper Coos, would bring him out near the White Hills; and left the party, accompanied by a Ranger, and a Mulatto man. The next year a party of hunters found the bones of a man, in Jefferson near the White Hills; before him were three half burnt brands piled together: and a quantity of silver broaches and wampum lay scattered about; the hair was long and tied with a leather ribbon such as Bradley wore; no arms were with him, nor any signs of his companions.

In their return from St. Francis, the Rangers suffered every hardship which men could endure. Their powder horns, ball pouches, and other accoutrements were successively boiled and eaten. Mr. Evans of Concord who was one of the Rangers, states that one night while the men were all asleep in their camp, his cravings for food were so insupportable, that he awoke from sleep, and seeing a large knapsack belonging to one of his comrades, opened it in hopes of finding something to satisfy his hunger;—that he found in it three human heads; that he cut a piece from one of them, broiled and eat it, while the men continued to sleep: but that he would die with hunger, before he would do the like again. He said that when their distresses were

greatest, they hardly deserved the name of human beings.

CROWN POINT.

This ancient Fort was commenced by the French in 1731. The principal work however, bears on one of its angles, the inscription of 1751. It was a star work in the form of a Pentagon, with bastions at each angle, and a strong redoubt of 250 yards in advance of each. It is surrounded by a ditch walled in with stone except where it has been cut through the solid lime stone ledge. The walls are from 20 to 25 feet high. With a path all round on the top, interrupted only by the gates on the north and south. The walls are half a mile in circumference. Opposite the north gate, is a small ledge near which are the remains of a covered or subterranean passage to the Lake shore. Within the Fortress is a level and spacious area bounded on the left and in front by long ruinous stone buildings. The parade is 500 feet long.* The Fort was partly blown up by the French in their retreat in 1759 before Gen. Amherst. The place was surprised by Colonel Warner in 1775. The American army halted here on their return from Canada in 1776, and a memorial was presented to General Schuyler by the field officers, stating their objections to the project of removing the troops to Ticonderoga, on the ground that the Point might more easily be defended, not being over-

*4000 men could be accommodated with quarters at Crown Point.

†Gen. Amherst erected a new and more extensive fortification at the Point.

looked and commanded by a mountain within a short distance, like Ticonderoga ; but these reasons not being sufficient to induce an alteration in the views of the commander in chief, the removal took place. The army reached the latter place in July ; where the declaration of Independence was read to the soldiers accompanied shouts of applause. The mountain opposite Ticonderoga on the Lake shore was upon the occasion, named Mt. Independence and directed to be cleared and fortified.*

TICONDEROGA.

The remains of the old French lines which Abercrombie attacked, are still to be seen. They are drawn in a zig zag direction ; first stretching off to the right, along the edge of a marshy ground, to a cluster of bushes, where a battery was erected ; then to the left, to the verge of a wood, where was another battery. Near the west part of the lines, is a fine spring, which was the scene of a bloody contest during the engagement in July 1758. Many bodies have lately been found near it, and shot have been cut out of old timbers.

The Fortress was of an angular form, divided into several parts, by deep ditches, covered by cannon and musketry. The communication between them was kept up by stone stair cases placed in convenient portions of the angles, all so contrived as to make the descent into the ditch, and the ascent circuitous, and exposed to cannon and small arms. The plan of the Fortress appears to have been executed with all the skill possessed by the French En-

*There were no discharges of cannon, powder being considered a precious article in those times.

gineers of that day. The walls were once much higher than they are at present, and covered with a superstructure of timber filled with earth, to protect the barracks. It was surrendered to Gen. Amherst in July 1759, after the French had blown up their magazines. The battlements of Ticonderoga first bore the flag of American Independence, having been surprised by Colonel Ethan Allen on the night of May 18th 1775.

Allen found his way to the commandant's bed chamber, and holding his drawn sword over his head, summoned him to surrender; "to whom and in whose name" said the astonished officer, "In the name of the Great Jehovah, of the Continental Congress, and of Ethan Allen" was the reply. The American army lay here a long time after their retreat from Canada in 1776. On the 4th of July 1777, General St. Clair evacuated the place, and General Burgoyne occupied it immediately afterwards. The British having possession of Mount Defiance, completely commanded the American camp; and could see all their movements. The Americans burnt their stores and provisions very imprudently on the night of the retreat. This gave the British notice of the evacuation of the place. Their Gen. immediately embarked a body of troops upon the Lake in pursuit which proceeding up South Bay with all speed, overtook and cut off the American rear guard, near Hubbards town.

One of the battalions surrendered to a force of British and Tories, who not being able to carry away the arms, of the prisoners, left them stacked in the woods; where, they remained until Col. Warner went for them, to be used at Bennington on the 16th of August following. Gen. Kosciusko the champion of Poland, was with the Americans in

their retreat from Ticonderoga. He was then a Brigadier Gen. in the U. S. army.

Mount Independence is a smaller eminence east of Mount Defiance, separated from it, by the outlet of Lake George. Upon the bank above the water, are the remains of a zigzag battery of 50 guns. It runs across a small cornfield and passes behind a house making five or six angles. The horse shoe battery is describable on an elevation, one quarter of a mile in the rear. This hill was fortified by the late Gen. Stark in 1776, by order of Gen. Gates, then commanding at Ticonderoga. In clearing the hill, to prepare for erecting the works, the troops killed a vast number of rattle snakes. The hulks of Arnold's flotilla lie on the west shore of the Lake, almost as sound as when they were stranded.

PRESQUE ISLE.

The town of Erie, Pa. is situated upon a bluff affording a pleasant prospect of Presque Isle bay, the peninsula which forms it, and the Lake beyond. The basin is a fine one, and the National government, in conjunction with the State of Pennsylvania, have been at much expense, for several years past, in constructing piers to improve its entrance, and remove a sand bar which has heretofore obstructed the passage of large vessels. It is now much improved, and steam boats enter without much difficulty. The peninsula was within remembrance, a sand bank; but is now covered with a growth of young timber. Erie was of some importance during the last war, as a naval station; since which, the village appears to have been stationary; the improvement of the harbor will however, contribute much to its increase. A little to the right of

the town, on a high bank overlooking the bay, are the remain of the old French Fort, now overgrown with weeds and thistles, but still distinct in its outlines. It was one of that great chain of military posts extending from the St. Lawrence to New Orleans, by which the French endeavored to cramp the rising greatness of the British empire in the west; and was once occupied by a considerable garrison. Half a mile beyond, passing a ravine, on another eminence, commanding the entrance of the harbor, stands the block house erected during the late war, for the protection of the navy-yard on the opposite side of the bay. At this place, Perry's fleet was built with incredible despatch. Scarcely 70 days elapsed from the time they commenced cutting the timber in the woods, until the squadron was ready for action. The young and intrepid victor of Erie is still gratefully remembered. At a public dinner given to him and his officers before they sailed on their glorious errand, he gave the noble sentiment, that "he would come back a conqueror, or in his shroud." This victory retrieved the disaster of Detroit, finished the war in this quarter, and restored tranquility to the bleeding frontier. The prize vessels now lie sunk in the harbor near the navy yard. The large vessel is partly above water in a decayed state; and near her, the brig Niagara, in whose cabin the gallant Commodore wrote the famous despatch, "we have met the enemy and they are ours." They are pointed out to all strangers, and many anecdotes related to revive in their recollections the merits of those brave men who came from the Atlantic shores, to make these lonely waters the theatre of glorious achievement, and wrest the trident from the mistress of the seas. Although time, unhealthy climates and battle have made sad havoc in their numbers, the sensibilities of a great nation should nev-

er be forgetful of those who so nobly contended for her insulted honor. The old garrison house of General Wayne, in which he died, on his return from the Indian wars, still remains though in a ruinous state. He was buried at his own request, under the flag staff of the Fort. A rude paling and a rough stone, with the initials "A. W.," long marked the resting place of one of our country's most heroic defenders. His remains have since been removed by his friends. Among those bold spirits whose exertions and patriotism achieved the great work of American Independence, he held a conspicuous rank. After the defeat of St. Clair had thrown the whole frontier open to the enemy, he was directed by President Washington to assume the command of the North Western Army; and the dread which the savages still entertain for his memory, affords living proof how faithfully his duty was performed. His prudence and decision soon restored order to his discomfited forces. By a rapid and cautious advance, he foiled the enemy's attempts at surprise, though all their arts were employed, and finally met them near the Miami Rapids. The victory which crowned his toils, obtained him the title of the "Red man's scourge;"* by which he is designated by the Indians to this day. †

An anecdote of him upon this occasion, we have never seen in print. The British at this time, held

* When General Wayne made his treaty with the North Western Indians, he told them that if they ever took up the hatchet against the United States again, he would make the ground tremble under them. When Tecumseh roused the tribes to war in 1811, previous to the battle of Tippecanoe, several shocks of earthquakes took place in the western and southern country.— This frightened the Indians sadly, and put them in mind of the threat of Gen. Wayne; who they imagined was down the Mississippi proving his cannon, preparatory to attacking them again.

† His own troops used to call the General "Mad Anthony," on account of his disregard of personal danger.

a military post on the Miami, near Wayne's battle ground—from them, the Indians had received countenance and supplies, and expected a shelter in case of defeat. General Wayne received a message from the commandant, warning him to keep at a proper distance from the Fort, as he should protect the Indians, if they retreated under his guns.— Wayne immediately wrote a note to this effect :—

“ If you fire one gun, or receive one Indian into the Fort, my troops shall storm and put the garrison to the sword—remember *Stony Point*.”

It had the desired effect ; the enemy fled for shelter, but the gates were closed. Part of them escaped, with the loss of their arms, by swimming Swan Creek, and the remainder were drowned or slain by the enraged conquerors. To show their utter contempt for the British authorities, and perhaps to afford them an opportunity of provoking an assault, the General and his staff, went to a spring a few rods from the garrison, and partook of some refreshment, while the troops were completing the rout of the enemy.

The treaty of Granville, which followed this victory, and the cession of a large territory, secured the tranquillity of the Western States, until again interrupted by the British emissaries in 1811. The western settlers entertain the highest reverence for the name of Wayne, as one of the most distinguished of that band of Patriots, whose valor and conduct have procured for them titles of nobility more honorable and lasting than royal favor can bestow.

MEMOIR
OF
GENERAL STARK.

1847

1847

1847

1847

MEMOIR

OF

GENERAL STARK.



Archibald Stark, the father of the late General, was a native of Glasgow, in Scotland, and at an early age emigrated to the county of Londonderry, in Ireland—whence, in 1720, he embarked with a company of adventurers for New-Hampshire.—They were refused permission to land at Boston, on account of having the small pox on board, and compelled to encounter the horrors of a northern winter in the wilds of Maine, near where Wiscasset is now situated. The following year, after many sufferings and hardships, they established themselves at Nutfield, now Londonderry, N. H. then a wilderness, hideous by nature, and rendered ten fold more so by the savages* who at that period, and for many succeeding years, harrassed the frontiers. Several of Mr. Stark's sons† held commissions in the *seven years war*, and were equally distinguished for

* The inhabitants of Londonderry were in some instances, protected from the savages through the influence of Father Rallee, the Catholic Friar of Norridgewock, who informed the Indians that they would surcly go to Hell if they meddled with the Irish.

† William, John, Archibald, and Samuel Stark all served in the Rangers; Archibald was a Lieutenant. He died at Hopkinton N. H. at the age of 90.

cool and undaunted courage. William, the eldest, was a Captain of Rangers, served with reputation at Louisburg and Quebec, and by his courage and address rendered signal services in those expeditions. He afterwards tarnished his well earned fame, by joining the British standard in 1776, from which he never returned.

In 1736, Mr. Stark removed to Derryfield, now Manchester, upon Merrimack river, and commenced a settlement near Amoskeag Falls. John his second son, the subject of this memoir, resided with his father, at this place, until 1752. At that time, (in company with his brother William, Messrs. David Stinson and Amos Eastman) he went upon a hunting expedition to Baker's river, in Rumney, N. H. On the 28th of April, they were surprised at this place by a scout of ten St. Francis Indians. Signs of them had been discovered two days before, and the party were in consequence about leaving the hunting ground. John separated from his companions to collect the traps—and while thus engaged, fell into the hands of the enemy. On being interrogated respecting his comrades he pointed a contrary direction, and led them two miles out of the way. His friends alarmed at his long absence, fired several guns, which discovered them to the savages, who, proceeding some distance down the river, turned their encampment and formed an ambush to intercept their boat. The hunters, suspecting what had taken place, were proceeding down the river—Wm. Stark and Stinson in the canoe, and Eastman on the bank; when, about sunrise the latter fell into the ambush, and was taken by the savages, who then directed John to hail the others.—He did so; informed his friends of his situation, and advised an escape to the opposite shore—upon which four of the Indians fired into the boat. At this critical moment, he had the temerity to strike

up two of their muskets, and upon the others preparing to fire, did the same, and told William to escape, as they had fired all their guns. He profited by the advice, and made good his retreat.—Stinson,* his companion was killed. This conduct of their prisoner so exasperated the Indians, that they beat him severely, made prize of his furs, and proceeded to Coos, near where Haverhill, N. H. is now situated, where they had left two of their party to collect provisions for their return. Here they tarried one night, and continued their route to the upper Coos; whence they despatched three of their party with Eastman to St. Francis. The remainder employed themselves sometime in hunting upon a small stream called John's River.—The prisoner was liberated during the day, but confined at night. While here, Stark was directed to try his fortune at hunting. He succeeded in trapping one beaver, and shooting another, and received the skins as a reward for his skill.

On the 9th of June the Indians reached St. Francis where he remained six weeks,—was well treated, and obtained a knowledge of their modes of attacking and annoying their enemies. Mr. Wheelwright of Boston, and Capt. Stevens, of Number Four, who were sent by Massachusetts to redeem prisoners, arrived about this time at the village, and not finding those they expected from Massachusetts, released both the captives, and returning by way of Albany, reached Derryfield in August following. Mr. Stark paid for his freedom \$103, and Eastman \$60. These sums were never repaid by the state. Massachusetts, directed by a more just and liberal policy, redeemed all her captives. It

*A party from Concord, soon afterwards, found and buried the body of Stinson in the woods, and brought home one of the paddles of the canoe, which was pierced with several shot holes; it was preserved a long time, by the Eastman family.

may not be improper to remark that the scout which captured these prisoners came to Albany in company with this returning party, and sold the furs* taken from them, without molestation.

During this captivity, Stark acquired that thorough knowledge of the Indian character, and of their stratagems of war, which he turned to such good account against them, and their allies the French, in the war which ensued. It is a custom with the Indians, to impose all their labor and drudgery upon their captives and Squaws. They accordingly, directed Stark to hoe corn.—He first proceeded to cut up the corn, carefully sparing the weeds;—but this not answering his purpose of relieving himself of the labor, he threw their hoes into the River, telling them “it was the business of Squaws and not warriors to hoe corn.” Instead of being irritated at this, they were pleased with his boldness, called him “young chief,” and he was accordingly adopted as the son of their Sachem. In the latter days of his life, he used to relate with much humour, the incidents of his captivity; observing, that he had experienced more genuine kindness from the savages of St. Francis, than he ever knew prisoners of war to receive from any civilized nation.*

When Eastman and Stark arrived at St. Francis, they were compelled to undergo the ceremony of running the gauntlet. The young men of the village ranged themselves in two lines, each armed with a rod, to strike the captives as they passed along.

*They had collected fur in the expedition, amounting to 560*l.* as appears by the memorial to the Legislature of N. H. in 1754 for which, see appendix.

When Rogers surprised and destroyed the village of St Francis, on the 4th of October 1759, Stark was engaged in another service, and did not share in the success and disasters of that expedition.

Eastman was severely whipped; but Stark thinking one good turn deserved another, snatched a club and made his way through the lines knocking the Indians down, right and left whenever they came within his reach; and escaped with scarcely a blow, to the great delight of the old men, who sat at a distance enjoying the sport heartily at their young men's expense.

Nothing daunted by this unfortunate enterprise, our adventurer repaired next season to the Androscoggin, to pursue his vocation* and raise means to discharge his redemption debt. From the report of these prisoners concerning the Coos territory, the General Court of N. H. determined to send a party to explore this hitherto unknown region. Col. Lovel, Major Talford and Capt. Page were employed to enlist a company for this service, and solicited Mr. Stark to accompany them as a guide.—Under his direction they commenced their journey on the 10th of March, 1754, and in 7 days made Connecticut river at Piermont.—After passing one night, and making such observations as their time would allow, they returned, and on the 13th day reached Concord.

In 1754, a report was current that the French were building a Fort at the Upper Coos, and Capt. Powers was in consequence, despatched by the Governor of N. H. with thirty men, and a flag, to demand their reason.—He applied to Mr. Stark to accompany them, who conducted the party to the upper Coos, by way of the Little Ox Bow, the same route he had traversed two years before, as a captive to the Indians. Finding no French garrison, the scout returned, after exploring for the first time

*Most of the active young men of New-England at this day engaged in hunting as a most profitable and agreeable occupation.

by an English adventurer the Coos intervals, where the now flourishing towns of Haverhill and Newbury are situated.

Mr. Stark had acquired so much celebrity by these expeditions, that upon the breaking out of the seven years war, the Governor appointed him Lieut. of Rogers' corps of Rangers, in Blanchard's regiment. Rogers, possessing a bold and enterprising spirit, soon collected a band of rugged foresters; and was ordered to proceed to Coos, and burn the intervals, preparatory to erecting a Fort. Before reaching their place of destination, a new order commanded them to join the regiment at Fort Edward, by way of Number Four, (Charleston N. H.) They reached head quarters, about the time Sir Wm Johnson was attacked by the French and Indians near Bloody Pond, between Fort Edward and Lake George.*

This campaign passed without any other occurrence worthy of notice. In autumn, the regiment was discharged, and Lieut. S. returned home.

In the winter of 1756, the British commander at Fort Edward determined to establish a corps of Rangers to counteract the operations of the French and Indian scouts, which harrassed the frontiers and hung upon the wings of the army. Rogers was appointed to the command who proceeding to N. H. chose Stark his Lieut. raised his soldiers, and in April following, arrived at Fort Edward. Although no important military operations were attempted this campaign, the Rangers were

*Three actions took place on the same day near this spot. The French and Indians were completely routed with the loss of a 1000 men and all their baggage. The French General, the Baron Dieskau, was wounded and taken prisoner; and the British commander created a Baronet in consequence of his victory. The pond was called Bloody, from the slaughter of this occasion, the bodies of the slain being thrown into it, in such numbers, as to discolor the water.—See Reminiscences Battle at Lake George.

constantly on foot, watching the motions of the enemy at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, cutting off his convoys of supplies, and often making prisoners of his sentinels at their posts.*

“One of our expeditions, (says Major Rogers,) my Lord Howe did us the honor to accompany, being desirous as he expressed himself, of learning our methods of marching, ambushing, retreating, &c. and on our return, expressed his opinion of us very generously.”—*Rogers' Journal*.

In the autumn of this year, the corps was joined by two companies from Halifax, under Captains Hobbs and Spikeman, which raised its force to 300 strong. These hardy woodsmen were familiar with all the practices of the French and Indian partisans, and many a fierce conflict evinced that they were able to contend with, and defeat them upon their own terms.

In January 1755, a detachment of Rangers was directed to march to the Lake, and intercept the supplies from Crown Point to Ticonderoga. They turned Ticonderoga, siezed several sleighs, and were returning to Fort William Henry, when they were attacked three miles from Ticonderoga, by the combined force of French and Indians from the garrison. A most bloody and desperate action ensued, perhaps according to numbers, one more sanguinary was not fought during the war. Major Rogers was wounded, Capt. Spikeman killed, and the command devolved upon Lieut. Stark, who by his prudence and firmness, secured the wounded and drew of the detachment in such order, as to

*On one occasion, one these parties brought home with them, the scalp of a French sentinel, they had killed near the gate of Crown Point. The scalping knife was sometimes used by the Rangers, in retaliation for the cruelties of the French and their allies the Indians.

keep the enemy at bay.* They reached Lake George at 8 A. M.

The wounded who during the night march, had kept up their spirits, were at this time so overcome with cold, fatigue, and loss of blood, that they could march no farther. It became, therefore, necessary that notice should be forwarded to Fort William Henry, that sleighs might be sent for them. Lieut. Stark volunteered for the purpose, and by fatigue more easily imagined than expressed, reached the Fort, (distant 40 miles) the same evening, and the next day his companion were removed in sleighs.

In the new organization of the corps, Lt. Stark was appointed to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Capt. Spikeman.—Shortly after this, while acting commander of Rangers at William Henry, one of his eccentricities proved the salvation of the garrison. While going the rounds on the evening of the 16th of March, he overheard the Rangers planning a celebration in honor of St. Patrick, and immediately commanded the sutler to deliver no rum to them, without a written order,†

*Stilson Eastman of Concord N. H. who was one of Stark's Rangers in this action, states that on the receipt of his second wound, Rogers thought of ordering a retreat, as the only safety of the party. Lieut. Stark who was then almost the only officer fit for duty, declared he would shoot the first man who fled, said he had a good position, and would fight the enemy until dark and then retreat; and that in such a course consisted their only safety. While he was speaking a ball broke the lock of his gun; at the same time, observing a Frenchman fall, he sprang forward, seized his gun, returned to his place, and continued the action. Eastman stated that Stark's courage and prudence saved the party; and that to the bravery and skill of William and John Stark, the Rangers were indebted for much of their success, and celebrity in the campaigns against the French. The late Col. Webster of Plymouth, has made a similar statement.

†A great number of the Rangers were Irish or their descendants.

the application for which, was evaded by a plea of a lame hand—the Rangers were accordingly kept sober. The Irish troops composing the remainder of the garrison, could not forget this ancient custom; but poured out copious libations in honor of St. Patrick's wife Shelah. The French aware of the laudable practice of the Hibernians, concerted an attack, and would that night have carried the Fort, had they not been repulsed by these sober troops, while the others were coming to their senses. The particulars of this attack belong to history. From this time, no military movements of consequence took place until the ensuing summer, when Lord Loudoun the commander in Chief, ordered the Rangers to New York, to be employed on the Halifax station. Capt. S. being on a scout, did not join them until their arrival at New York. An attack of small pox prevented his accompanying the expedition. After it's return, he joined the army at Albany, in October following, and passed the winter at Fort Edward.

In 1758, Gen. Abercrombie, Commander in Chief of the British forces in America, resolved to attempt the reduction of Ticonderoga; and the Rangers were ordered to scour the country and open a way for the British forces to advance to the attack.

The evening before this fatal battle, Capt. Stark had a long conversation with Lord Howe, resting upon a bear skin, (his Lordship's camp bed) respecting the mode of attack and position of the Fort. They supped together, and orders were given to the Rangers to carry the bridge between Lake George and the plains of Ticonderoga, at an early hour in the morning. Accordingly they advanced, and on approaching the bridge, Major Rogers who was at their head, perceiving a party of French and Indians prepared to dispute their passage, halted a

few minutes, which pushed the rear upon the front; Stark not knowing the cause, rushed forward, saying that "it was no time for delay," pushed boldly on to the bridge, and in a few minutes the enemy fled, leaving a clear passage for the army. Respecting this attack,* Major Rogers observes "we toiled with repeated attacks for four hours, being greatly embarrassed by trees† that were felled by the enemy without their breastwork, when the General thought proper to order a retreat, directing me to bring up the rear, which I did in the dusk of the evening." The regret of Capt. Stark for the fate of that gallant nobleman, Lord Howe, from whom he had experienced the most marked attentions, lasted with his life; but he often remarked during the Revolution, that he became more reconciled to his fate, lest at that time, his talents might have been employed against the United States.

After the close of this campaign, Capt. Stark, returned home on furlough, at which time, he married Elizabeth Page, daughter of Capt. Page of Dunbarton. In the following spring, he joined the army and was employed with 200 Rangers in cutting a road from Ticonderoga to Charleston, N. H.

*The attacks upon the French lines at Ticonderoga, were made on the 6, 7, and 8th of July, 1758, and proved unsuccessful, through the imbecility of the commander in Chief, at the expense of 1608 Regulars, and 334 Provincials, killed or taken. The British army amounted to nearly 16000 strong. Among those who fell, none was more deeply regretted than Lord Viscount Howe, who fell in the action with the French advanced guard. This fall checked the advance of the army. To his military services, and private virtues, the General Court of Massachusetts paid an honorable tribute, by causing a monument to be erected in Westminster Abbey. See Reminiscences of the French War, for an account of this action.

†The French had constructed a formidable abbatis, the most important obstacle that can be placed in front of a breastwork.

Under Gen. Amherst, he was present at the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. The conquest of Canada in 1760, put an end to military operations in North America; this circumstance, together with the jealousies of the British officers, induced him to quit the service. Gen. Amherst by an official letter, assured him of his protection, and that if inclined to re-enter the service, he should not lose his rank by retiring.

From this period until 1774, he uniformly espoused the cause of his countrymen, and became a rallying point, around which the people of his vicinity could meet and exchange ideas upon the then critical situation of the Provinces. At this time he was appointed one of the Committee of safety; and discharged the difficult duties which devolved upon him, with firmness and moderation, using all his endeavors to promote union of sentiment, and preparations for action should it become necessary. Upon the news of Lexington battle, he mounted his horse and proceeded to the theatre of action, encouraging as he passed along, the volunteers of N. H. to rendezvous at Medford. His military services and uniform patriotism and integrity, left him no rival in the minds of his neighbors, who had appeared in arms. He was elected Colonel by an unanimous voice, Isaac Wyman, Lieut. Colonel and Andrew M'Clary, Major.* A regiment of 10 or 12 companies was soon organized and reduced to a tolerable state of discipline. As he had left home at ten minutes notice, he returned to arrange his af-

*The venerable Jonathan Eastman Esq. of Concord, N. H. boasts that on this occasion, he held up his hand for his friend Stark; and assisted in making him Colonel of the first N. H. regiment.

fairs, and immediately joined the army for the campaign.

While examining Noddle's Island, by direction of Gen. Ward, with a view to erect batteries against the British shipping, the party consisting of himself, M'Clary, and one or two others, having accomplished their object, and being on their return, discovered a British party upon the same errand, which attempted to cut them off by seizing their boat; but after exchanging a few shots, they reached it in safety, and returned to camp.

At the battle of Bunker's Hill, Stark's regiment formed the left of the American line, and it is an acknowledged fact, that the attacks of the enemy were sustained in a manner worthy of the brightest days of chivalry.*

The regiment opposed to the N. H. line was that of the Welsh Fusileers, which had been distinguished at the battle of Minden in Germany, and was considered one of the finest corps in the British service. The troops advanced and displayed in front of our line, says an eye witness now living, with the coolness, and precision of troops upon parade; not a shot was fired until they came within 80 yards of their enemy, who opened upon them a fire so rapid and deadly, that in a few minutes, they broke and fled in confusion. They were immediately rallied, reinforced, again led to the attack, and once more gave way before the fatal fire, of the New-

*Three times the enemy advanced to these lines, and were as often driven back with great slaughter. The late Gen. Winslow, of Boston, told the writer that he was on the ground about 10 o'clock the next day, and that he counted ninety six men on the beach between the bank and Mystic river. This must have been the handiwork of Moor's company, as they were the only men who occupied that space—he further observed that there were no officers among them, they having probably been removed.

Hampshire marksmen. A third time, an attempt was made to turn our left, which was again repulsed with dreadful slaughter. Our men were brought into action with the utmost coolness, and without being fatigued. The Colonel observed to Capt. Dearborn*, who suggested the propriety of hastening the march, across the neck, which was enfiladed by the guns of the British frigate *Lively* on one side, and two floating batteries on the other, that "one fresh man in action, was worth ten fatigued ones."†

In the heat of the action, some one reported to Colonel Stark, that his son a young man of 16, who had followed him to the field, had just been killed. He remarked to the informer, that it was no time to talk of private affairs, while the enemy were in force in front, and ordered him back to his duty.‡

The position occupied by the New Hampshire troops, was at the rail fence, about forty yards in rear of the redoubt, towards Mystic river. The grass had been recently cut, and lay in winrows and cocks upon the field; another fence was taken up, the rails run through that in front, and the hay suspended upon them from top to bottom, which had the appearance of a breast work; and served to deceive the enemy, although it was no real cover to the men. When the Fort was carried and retreat

*Since Major General Dearborn of the U. S. army.

†Gen. Gage, looking over the scene of action at Breed's hill, before the attack, remarked to some one who enquired whether he thought the Yankees would wait for the assault of the Royal troops, that if one John Stark were with them, he thought they would; for he was a brave fellow and had served under him at Lake George in 1758 and 59.

‡The report proved groundless. The son is still living and was a staff officer during the remainder of the war.

became unavoidable, Col. Stark drew off his regiment in such order, that they were not pursued. The men were unwilling to quit their ground, as they had repulsed the enemy so often as to consider themselves completely victorious.

While the British were storming the redoubt, it was with difficulty, that these troops could be prevented from abandoning their position, and attacking the enemy's rear. But their Colonel had witnessed such scenes before; he foresaw the fate of the redoubt, knew that the men had no bayonets, and but little ammunition remaining, and therefore considered that any attempt to succour the right of the line, would be the height of madness and folly.

Immediately after the retreat, intrenchments were formed at Winter Hill* and the campaign passed away in a few abortive projects, in settling the rank of general and field officers, and in re-enlisting the army. On the evacuation of Boston, Col. Stark was ordered to New-York, and assisted in arranging the defences of that city until May, 1776, when the regiment was ordered to proceed by way of Albany to Canada. He joined the army at St. Johns, and advanced to the mouth of the Sorell. He opposed the expedition to Three Rivers as hazardous and imprudent, and after delivering his opinion, obeyed implicitly the orders of his commander.† On their return, the remains of this

*The zeal of the soldiers was so great that they labored incessantly all night, and the next day being exceedingly hot, several were actually melted (as it is called) and died of the fatigue.

†This expedition was formed in the face of the enemy, and on the opposite side of the St. Lawrence, or Lake St. Pierre—eight or ten miles broad, at the time the British had a formidable naval force on the river, and the Americans none.

The Army retreating from Quebec was met by this division at the mouth of the Sorell where General Thomas who commanded

ill-fated enterprise, suffered great losses by the small pox at Chamblee and Mount Independence. After crossing Lake Champlain, his regiment encamped upon Chinney Point, while the remainder of the army lay at Crown Point, until ordered to retire upon Ticonderoga. Against this removal he presented General Schuyler a memorial signed by most of the officers of the army, on the ground, that their present position ought not to be abandoned as being the most capable of defence. Gen. Schuyler being of a different opinion, the evacuation took place. On the 6th and 7th of July, the troops reached Ticonderoga; on the following morning the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed to them with shouts of applause.

Gen. Gates arriving soon after, assumed the command in chief, and assigned to Col. Stark the command of a Brigade, with orders to clear and fortify Mount Independence, named on the occasion, and then a wilderness. Towards the close of the campaign, Congress promoted several of the junior Colonels to the rank of Brigadiers, against which, he protested, on the ground of insecurity of rank, and of planting the seeds of discord among the officers. At the close of the northern campaign, Col. Stark's regiment was ordered to join General Washington at New Town, Pennsylvania, where he arrived a few days before the battle of Trenton; and leading the right of Sullivan's division, contributed his share in that bloodless and fortunate

COUPE DE MAIN.

the troops after Montgomery's fall, died of the small pox. While there, Arnold employed himself in plundering the merchants of Montreal; and Thompson was taken prisoner in an unsuccessful attack upon Trois Rivières. A retreat now became necessary; and wasably conducted by General Sullivan, before a close pursuit of the enemy, which continued until the troops reached St. Johns.

At the council of war preceding the affair at Trenton, in giving his opinion, he observed to Gen. Washington, "your men have long been accustomed to place dependence upon spades and pick axes for safety:—but if you ever mean to establish the Independence of the United States, you must teach them to place confidence in their fire arms." Washington replied; "that is what we have agreed upon—we are to march to-morrow upon Trenton—you are to command the right wing of the advanced guard, and Gen. Greene the left." Stark observed that he could not be better suited.

Here it may be proper to notice a circumstance, not generally understood, the particulars of which, were related at the funeral of the deceased General, by a comrade in arms there present. It is well known that previous to this important action, the American army was upon the point of being broken up, by suffering, desertion, and the expiration of the term of enlistment, of a great portion of the troops. A few days previous, the term of the New-Hampshire regiments expired: Stark was the first to propose a reinlistment for six weeks; he left his station as commander, for the moment; took upon himself the task of recruiting officer, and not a man failed to reinlist.

Col. Stark was with Washington when he crossed the Delaware, was engaged at the battle of Princeton, and continued with the General, until he had established his Winter quarters at Morristown. The term of enlistment of his regiment having expired, he was ordered to N. H. to recruit another.—In the month of April the regiment was completed, and he repaired to Exeter to receive instructions for the campaign, where he was informed that a new list of promotions had been made, and his name omitted. The cause was easily traced to some officers of high rank, and members of

Congress, who were displeased with his unbending character.

Upon this, he waited upon Generals Sullivan and Poor, wished them all possible success, and surrendered his commission. They endeavored to dissuade him from this course; but he answered—that “an officer who would not maintain his rank, and assert his rights, was not worthy of serving his country.” He warned them of the dangerous situation of the army at Ticonderoga, the necessity of immediate relief, and declaring his readiness again to take the field, whenever his country required his services, retired to his farm as a private citizen. His zeal for the cause continuing as ardent as before, all of his family capable of bearing arms, were fitted out and despatched to the army.*

After the disastrous retreat from Ticonderoga, and the advance of the invader from the north, with a powerful and well appointed army, all the energies of the country became necessary to repel his attack. New-Hampshire was called upon to recruit men, and forward supplies.

In this emergency, the council of his native state directed their attention to Col. Stark, relying upon his military reputation and popularity, to call out the Militia. They urged him to forget what had passed, and assume the command of their troops.—He informed them he had little confidence in the

*Upon his resignation, the Council and House of Delegates of New-Hampshire on the 21st March 1777, passed the following vote. “Voted that the thanks of both houses in convention, be given to Colonel Stark, for his good services in the present war, and that from his early and steadfast attachments to the cause of his country, they make not the least doubt that his future conduct in whatever state of life, Providence may place him, will manifest the same noble disposition of mind.” Thereupon the thanks of both houses were presented to Colonel Stark, by the Honourable President. Records House Rep. Vol.

then commander at the North; but if they would raise a body of troops to hang upon the Vermont wing, and rear of the enemy, and allow him to use his own discretion in directing their operations without being accountable to any other power, than their own body, he would again take the field. They closed with the proposal, a commission was accordingly furnished; and laying aside the recollection of his wrongs; he called upon his friends, the yeomanry of the country, and they obeyed his voice. In a few days he was upon the frontier with a considerable force.

The aspect of their affairs at this time, was to the Americans, peculiarly gloomy and dispiriting. The overwhelming force of Burgoyne had driven them from their strong hold at Ticonderoga, a Fortress hitherto deemed impregnable, and universal alarm prevailed in the North.

The British army was led by accomplished and experienced officers—furnished with a formidable train of brass artillery and with all the apparatus, stores and equipments, which the nature of the service required, and which the art of man had invented. Veteran corps of the best disciplined troops of Britain, and Germany, constituted the greater portion of this dreaded army. While Canadians and American loyalists, furnished it with spies, scouts, and rangers; and a numerous army of savages, in their war dresses, with their own weapons, and characteristic ferocity, increased the terrors of its approach. It numbered according to common estimation 10,000 strong: an army which considering the theatre of action, was equal to ten times that number, in the ordinary wars of Europe.

Flushed with confidence in his superior power, and deceived by the opinion, that the friends of the

British cause in America, were five to one, General Burgoyne detached Col. Baum (a German officer) with 1500 men, upon a most romantic expedition. His instructions which fell into the hands of the conqueror, can best explain his rout, and the object of his expedition.—They are as follows:

“ You are to proceed through the New Hampshire grants, cross the mountains, scour the country with Peter’s corps of Tories, and the Indians from Rockingham, to Otter Creek; to obtain horses, carriages, and cattle, and mount Reidesel’s regiment of dragoons; to proceed down Connecticut river as far as Brattleborough and return by the great road to Albany, there to meet General Burgoyne; to endeavor to make the inhabitants of the country believe you are the advanced body of the General’s army, who is to cross Connecticut river, and proceed to Boston;* and that at Springfield, we are to be joined by the troops from Rhode Island. All officers civil and military, acting under the Congress, are to be made prisoners; you are to tax the towns where you halt, for such articles as are wanted, and to take hostages for their compliance with your requisitions.” By the tenor of this commission it appears, that the British General considered his proclamation at Bouquet, had produced wonderful results;—that it had struck a general panic through the states, quelled all opposition—and that it now only remained, for his troops to advance and the conquest was obtained. But Heaven be praised, that, fortunately, for the liberties of this country, there were others who thought differently.

At this critical juncture General Stark arrived upon the frontier and took post at Bennington.

*He and his army arrived at Boston, but by a different route than that anticipated by the British General or the ministry.

The General who commanded the northern army, having learned the arrival of these troops at Bennington, directed Gen. Lincoln to assume the command, and conduct them to head quarters. He presented his letter of instructions and proposed an immediate march; but was informed of the objections, which he forwarded Gen. Schuyler, who reported the case to General Washington, and Congress, at the same time urging the necessity of reinforcements, as he had been pressed so close by Burgoyne, as to be compelled to take post south of the Mohawk. The matter was soon after brought before Congress, and they resolved "that the council of New-Hampshire be informed that the instructions, which Gen. Stark says he has received from them, are destructive of military subordination and highly prejudicial to the common cause at this crisis; and that therefore they be desired to instruct General Stark to conform himself to the same rules, which other General officers of the militia are subject to, whenever they are called out at the expense of the United States." Gen. Burgoyne probably apprised of this discordancy of opinion, detached Lieut. Col. Baum to beat up their quarters, and destroy the force on that wing.

Before the passage of the above resolve, the commanding General had opened a correspondence with Gen. Stark; and endeavored to prevail on him to come to the sprouts of the Mohawk. The latter gave him a detail of his plan of operations, which was to fall upon Burgoyne's rear, and to harrass, and cut off his supplies; which was approved by Gen. Schuyler. While the arrangements were making to execute this plan, on the 14th of August, a messenger came to Gen. Stark, with an express from Cambridge, 14 miles north west of Bennington, informing that 200 Indians arrived there that morning; a few hours after, another came from the same place,

with intelligence that 1500 Hessians and Tories had also since arrived. A large quantity of flour having been collected at the mills, a few miles towards Cambridge, from the place where his troops lay, he immediately despatched a battalion under Col. Gregg to secure it, and followed with all his force, to support him if necessary. Gregg was soon met in full retreat, before a large body of Germans, who were approaching in the rear of the Indians, and were within one mile of our troops. Gregg reported that the woods were full of Indians, and that the whole of Burgoyne's army were on the march.*

On perceiving the main body of the Americans, the enemy halted, and commenced intrenching himself upon advantageous ground. A party of skirmishers sent out upon his front, succeeded in killing and wounding 30 men, without loss on our side. The 15th proving rainy, no general attack was made, and time afforded the enemy to fortify his camp, with a log breastwork, inform Gen. Burgoyne of his situation, and request a reinforcement.

On the morning of the 16th of August, the Americans advanced upon the enemy: who was found entrenched upon a sodded bluff, fronted by the Walloomschaick on the south, with a gradual slope on the north and west. His position was reconnoitred at a mile's distance, and the plan of attack arranged.

Two detachments, one to the right and one to the left, were ordered to turn his rear and advance directly to the entrenchments, reserving their fire until very near. Fortunately, they reached their stations almost at the same moment, and by a rapid

*The answer to this report, was "D—n your multiplying eyes."

advance, the enemy were forced out of their lines and driven upon the reserve, which decided the contest.*

The prisoners were collected and hurried off the ground as soon as possible. They were scarcely secured, when information came that a large reinforcement of the enemy was coming up to their support. The number required to guard the prisoners and those dispersed for refreshments and plunder, left but few for defence. Col. Warner* coming up at this critical moment, with part of his regiment, was ordered to advance and attack the enemy. These brave troops under their intrepid commander succeeded in checking him, while the others as fast as they could be collected, were brought up to sustain them, and the contest continued until dark, when the enemy gave way at all points; many prisoners were taken, but the main body escaped under cover of the night.—Gen. Stark, in his despatch to the N. H. Legislature, remarks, “that the enemy were pursued until dark, and that with one hour more of daylight, the whole detachment must have been captured.” The fruits of this victory obtained by raw Militia over European veterans, strengthened by a numerous and desperate band of Tories and Indians sustained by artillery, were 4 pieces of brass cannon, 8 brass drums, several hundred stand of arms, 750 prisoners—207 killed upon the spot. The loss of the Americans was 30 killed and 40 wounded. But the most important result produced by this signal and unexpected success was a restoration of confidence to the desponding armies of America, and a death blow to

*The flanking parties were directed to fall upon the rear, while the General with his main body advanced slowly towards the front. The enemy's artillery had for some time been directed against the main body; who moving slowly until they heard the report of musketry in the rear, then immediately rushed forward, attacked the works in front, and the action became general.

the hopes of Great Britain. Collections of the trophies * of this victory, were presented to the States of Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Vermont. The news of the disaster was brought to Gen. Burgoyne on the night of the 16th by the Indians, who fled at the moment the Americans forced the British lines. A large portion of the killed was the effect of the Indians' sharp shooting in their flight.

This was the first link in the chain of events, which opened a new scene to America. It raised her from the depth of despair, to the summit of hope; and added unfading laurels to the brow of the veteran who commanded. At the time the news reached Congress, † they were about reading New Hampshire out of the Union as the society of Friends read out their refractory members. They however in their wisdom, thought better of it—that although proper, it was not expedient; and on the 4th of October, it was “Resolved that the thanks of Congress be presented to Gen. Stark of the New-Hampshire militia, and the officers and troops under his command, for their brave and successful attack upon, and signal victory over the enemy in their lines at Bennington; and that Brigadier Stark be appointed a Brigadier General in the army of the United States.”

*We believe they have been preserved in the other States: the drum in Massachusetts, we have seen suspended in the hall of the Senate chamber. In this State many years ago the articles were known to be boxed and in the care of the Commissary General. Inquiry has lately been made at Portsmouth, and the articles cannot be found! It is reported that they were sold at auction several years ago.

†Gen. Stark was asked why he did not communicate the account of his victory to Congress. He answered that as they had not attended to his last letters, his correspondence with them was closed.

Never were thanks more deservedly bestowed. This was the first turn of affairs in favour of America, in the Northern Department, since the fall of Montgomery before Quebec. The triumph over his enemies, was complete. His conduct on this occasion, discovered whether he, or they, were the true friends of their country. When her liberties were in the most imminent danger, his private resentments were forgotten in the pursuit of the public good. He led his hardy yeomanry to the field; and to them, belongs the honor, of giving the first fatal check to the progress of the invader, which led the way to his subsequent entire defeat and capture.

It would be improper to pass without notice, the worthy clergyman from Berkshire, who came with his people, to measure rifles with the Hessians. Before light on the morning of the 16th, he addressed the Commander as follows. "We the people of Berkshire have been frequently called upon to fight, but have not been permitted. We have now resolved if you will not let us fight, never to turn out again. The General enquired if he wished to go then, when it was dark and rainy. "No," "Then" continued the General, "if the Lord should give us sunshine again, and I do not give you fighting enough, I will never ask you to come again." In the morning the weather cleared up, and the men marched off to action, with the spirits of freemen determined to "live free or die."

Gen. Stark went into action with the determination that his enemies, secret and avowed, should be confounded by a glorious victory, or that he would that night repose in the soldier's bed of honor.

When the two flanking parties approached near to each other, in the rear of the enemy, the Indians ever on the alert, perceived that their situation would be a warm one, and made their escape in a

single file, between the two parties, with horrid screams, and a jingling of cowbells. The contest for a short time was desperate, particularly at the Tories' breastwork.* The Hessians were treated with the civilities belonging to prisoners of war.† The Tories were considered traitors and distinguished as such. They were ordered to be tied in pairs, and those pairs connected by a rope, to which a horse was harnessed with a postillion mounted to lead them away.§ The ladies of Bennington furnished cords for the purpose, and rendered several other services with the same spirit which actuated the conquerors.

When General Gates who had now succeeded to the command of the Northern army, wrote the commander in Chief a few days after this affair, he thus expressed himself. "Upon my leaving Philadelphia, the prospect appeared most gloomy, but the severe checks the enemy have met with at Bennington and in Tryon county, have given a more pleasing aspect to public affairs."

Stark's victory gave reputation and courage to the Militia, who found that neither British, nor German regulars were invincible. While the Americans exulted on the one side, the royal army

*William Clement of Bradford, Co. of Hillsborough, N.H. belonged to Stickney's regiment which attacked the Tory breastwork. As he rushed up to the works, a Tory thrust a bayonet at him; he struck it aside and drove his own through his opponents eye and head with such force, that the bayonet came off, and remained in the Tory's head. When they buried the slain, the soldiers told Clement to take his bayonet out of the man's head, but he swore he would never touch it again, and the body was buried in that condition.

†The British to induce the Hessians to fight, told them that they would be roasted and eaten by the Americans, if taken.

§This indignity the Tories and their descendants never could forgive.

experienced a depression of spirits on the other ; especially as the disaster not only added to their delay, but afforded Gates time to obtain the reinforcements then on their march. In a few days, the army which had been driven from Ticonderoga in July, faced about, and with new courage, advanced to meet Burgoyne. He now perceived the danger of his situation. These men of New Hampshire and the Green Mountains, whom he had hitherto viewed with contempt, he now considered formidable enemies. In a letter to Lord Germaine about this time, he says, "the New Hampshire Grants till of late, but little known, hang like a cloud upon my left." He finally admitted, that it "was in vain to contend with the Lords of the soil."

Upon the advance of Burgoyne, General Stark approached the main army at Behmus Heights, and finally entered the camp. On the 18th of September the term of enlistment of his men had expired, and Gen. Gates sensible that a battle must shortly take place, was desirous of adding these victorious troops to his camp ; but all to no purpose.* They† returned, and Gen. Stark proceeded to New Hampshire to make report of his campaign to the Council, receiving wherever he came, the warmest expressions of the people's gratitude. Congress honored him with a generous vote of thanks, and the commission of a General Officer in the Continental

*These troops were drawn up and harangued by Generals Gates and Stark, but to no effect ; not more than three of the whole number were willing to tarry. They said they had performed their part and must go home.

†They were within hearing when the battle began, many halted and turned about, but when the firing ceased, they pursued their way home, and many returned, only tarrying at home one night.

army. Impressed with the idea that Burgoyne must now be taken, volunteers flocked to his standard from all quarters, and he was shortly enabled to join the army with a more numerous and formidable command than before.* He was zealous for attacking Burgoyne in his camp at Saratoga, and for that purpose, had placed his little army in the rear, to cut off his communication with Canada, by way of Lake George.

By this movement, Burgoyne became completely surrounded; and Gen. Stark contended that he might have been compelled to an unconditional surrender. Capitulation however was the most prudent and perhaps equally advantageous course to the Americans.

The war being now over in the north, he returned home to obtain recruits and supplies; and was soon after ordered by Congress to prepare for a winter expedition to Canada, and to proceed to Albany to confer with the Marquis de la Fayette, and General Conway upon the subject. After preparations were made, Congress thought proper to abandon the design.

Early in 1778, he was ordered to assume the command of the Northern Department at Albany. For this service he had very few troops, two extensive frontier rivers to guard, and was surrounded by Tories, spies, speculators and public defaulters. In regulating these abuses he succeeded like most reformers; those who were detected, cursed him, their friends complained, and he gladly received an order to join Gen. Gates in November at Rhode-Island. Gen. Hand succeeded him at Albany, but

*The Militia turned out with the understanding and assurance that they were to serve under "Gen. Stark." This argument induced the men to march, and the General to remain in the field. See Belknap's History, Farmer's edition, volume 1, 275.

shortly after left the command, for the same reason, and with the same pleasure. On joining Gen. Gates at Providence, he was directed to take post at East Greenwich on account of his popularity with the Militia, and with a view to ascertain and counteract the designs of the enemy from Rhode-Island. When the season of action was over, he returned by the way of Boston to New-Hampshire to urge the necessity of recruits and supplies.

In the spring of 1779, he joined the army at Providence and by direction of Gen. Gates, he examined the coast from Providence to Point Judith, as well as the east side of the bay as far as Mt. Hope. Few troops were employed on this station, and more than ordinary vigilance was required to prevent inroads, and to establish a regular system of espionage. In autumn, indications of a descent from the enemy being discovered, he removed his head quarters to Point Judith, seldom resting more than one night in a place.

Late in October, the enemy were in motion, and his command were for some days upon constant duty. About the 10th of November the enemy decamped from Rhode-Island, and early next morning, Gen. Stark took possession of Newport, and placed guards in the streets to prevent plunder and preserve order. At this time, Gen. Washington fearful that on the arrival of the Newport reinforcement at New-York, some attempts might be made upon his army, ordered Gen. Gates and Gen. Stark with the troops who had blockaded Newport excepting a small garrison, to join him in New-Jersey; and soon after directed Gen. S. to proceed to New-England to make requisitions of troops and supplies. Having performed this service, he joined the army at Morristown in May 1780 and was present at the battle of Springfield on Short Hills. Immediately after this, he was despatched to New-

England with orders to collect a body of Militia and volunteers, and march to West Point. He arrived with his troops at the Point, while Gen. Washington was absent to meet Count de Rochambeau at Hartford Connecticut, and shortly before Arnold's desertion. Upon delivering up the reinforcement, he joined his division at Liberty Pole New Jersey. In September he was ordered to relieve the Pennsylvania line under Gen. St. Clair, which had occupied West Point after Arnold's treason. St. Clair marched the next day to Liberty Pole.

While at West Point, he was called to partake in the melancholy duty of deciding the fate of Major Andre, and was a member of the military tribunal, which sentenced to death that brave, but unfortunate "victim of a traitor's wiles." He was duly sensible of the hardship of the case, but with his brother officers, was also aware, that the liberty of his country was at stake, and that the safety of her army, depended upon the example. Their decision stern and unfeeling, as it has since been termed by those who have lived in less dangerous times, had undoubtedly an effect throughout the war, of preventing a recurrence of the evil.

About this time Washington formed the design of surprising Staten Island and to mask his intentions, ordered General Stark with 2,500 men and a large train of waggons, to advance near New York Island, bring away all the corn and forage to be found, and hover about New York until further orders. The British suspecting some design from another quarter, suffered this detachment to pillage the country as far as Morrisania, and King's bridge, for several days, and then quietly return with their booty. Col. Humphries having crossed the North river one stormy night, informed that the Staten Island expedition was abandoned, and directed the foragers to retire. The army soon after, went into

winter quarters, at West Point, New Windsor and Fishkill. General Stark was here visited with a severe illness, and returned home on furlough, with the standing orders for men and supplies.

In the spring of 1781 he was ordered to the command of the Northern Department at Saratoga; some feeble detachments of Militia from N. York N. Hampshire and Massachusetts, were all the disposable force for the protection of this extensive frontier. The country was at that time overrun with spies and traitors. Robberies were frequent, and inhabitants, (non-combatants) carried prisoners to Canada.

General Schuyler's house was robbed and two of his servants carried to Canada. The General saved himself by retreating to his chamber, barricading the door, and firing upon the marauders.

The noise roused the city military, but the plunderers escaped. Soon after the establishment of the military post at Saratoga, a party of these brigands was discovered within the lines unarmed, and a British commission found upon the commander, a refugee from the States. A board of officers examined the case, pronounced him a spy, and condemned him to be hanged; which sentence was executed the next day.

One of the prisoners upon promise of quarter, informed that he belonged to a party of 15, who had come down from Canada on the same business,—who were then, in various disguises, scattered through the country, to ascertain the state of affairs, for the benefit of the British General in Canada, who was planning an inroad; and that they had left their boats concealed on the shore of Lake George. A Lieutenant with a sufficient force, and the prisoner for a guide, was immediately despatched to the place, with orders to wait five days, for the return of the party. The officer found their boats, and

waited one day, when his prisoner escaping, he became alarmed for his safety, and thought proper to disobey his orders, and return. Ten days would have elapsed, before the enemy could possibly have brought a force against him, from the information of the spy; and it was afterwards ascertained, that the Tories returned to their boats two days after, and escaped. The officer was severely censured for not capturing the whole party, as he might, and ought to have done.

The name of the spy executed was Thomas Lovelace, who having some connexions in the vicinity, complaints were made to the Commander in Chief, and much said about the danger of retaliation.— Washington demanded a copy of the proceedings, which were sent him, and no further notice taken of the affair. The cure of the body politic was radical; and no more of these parties were found in the country during the war.*

* After the reduction of Cornwallis and the danger of inroads from Canada had disappeared, he dismissed the Militia with thanks for their good conduct; and after securing the public stores, was ordered to retire by way of Albany, to the New England States to raise men and supplies for the next campaign. During the year 1782, he was afflicted with the rheumatism and did not join the army until ordered by General Washington in April 1783. He

* A similar party was found at Bennington on his advance to the command, and he had to employ all his address to prevent the sovereign people from exercising summary justice upon the culprits. They were sent to Symsbury mines.

† It was during General Stark's command at the north that the battle of Johnstown was fought, in which Col. Willet with 400 whites, and 60 Oneida Indians, attacked and routed 500 British and Indians, on the grounds of Johnson's estate. The enemy's loss was so great, that they reached Canada with but 220 men. This took place October 25, 1781.

was upon the spot at the day appointed, and received the hearty thanks of Washington for his punctuality. His influence was exerted with that of the other General Officers, in allaying those feelings of discontent which at that time, manifested themselves in the army, and to induce the troops to disband without confusion, and not suffer their victorious laurels to be tarnished by acts of hostility and violence to the authorities of their country.* After this concluding scene of the Revolution, he bade a final adieu to the cares of public life, retired to his estate, and devoted the remainder of his days to the various duties incumbent upon a patriot, and father of an extensive family. His long and useful career was terminated on the 3th of May 1822, at the age of 94; and he was the last surviving American General of the Revolution.

His funeral was attended by a large concourse of people, at his late residence in Manchester, on the bank of the Merrimack. His remains were interred with military honors in the cemetery which within a few years, had been enclosed at his own request. It is situated on a mound, being the second rise from the river, and may be seen for a distance of four or five miles up and down the Merrimack.

Aug
Memor
Rev.
Victory
On the 4th of July 1829, a monument was erected by his relatives, to mark the spot. It is a block of granite emblematical of the republican firmness of his character and hewn in the form of an obelisk, bearing this inscription: "Maj. General Stark."

Such is a faint outline, of the life and military services, of a hero whom New-Hampshire may justly boast to have been unsurpassed in cool, and deliberate bravery. He was indeed one of the firmest supports of the Revolution, and contributed as

* The celebrated Newburg letters were at this time, operating upon the minds of the officers and soldiers.

much as any other individual, to its successful issue. To him the unqualified praises of his compatriots in arms, have already been awarded, and posterity have recognised his important services, in the tribute of respect and veneration, which has been bestowed upon the character of a deceased friend and fearless defender of his country "in the times which tried men's souls." Of his patriotism and integrity, the best evidence which can be offered, is the circumstance, that soon after the breaking out of hostilities between Great Britain and the Provinces, he was offered the appointment of Brigadier in the royal service, which, with its emoluments, would have proved a splendid fortune to himself and family. He rejected it with disdain; his reply was, that he was "not to be bought with the baubles and gold of the British King, but had determined to devote his life and fortune to the delivery of his country from foreign oppression."

When the army was about to be disbanded, some of its commanders still retained a fondness for the pomp and parade of courts, and orders of aristocracy. The establishment of the Cincinnati was the result. To this, the General made many objections, one of which was, that the principles of the order, bore no resemblance to those of the illustrious Cincinnati.

To imitate the great Roman, he observed, we should return to the occupations we have left, without ostentation, holding ourselves in readiness, to obey the calls of our country. This was the line of conduct he had marked out for himself, and which through life he strictly pursued. In the path of duty, no man was more stern and unbending; yet no one better understood the art of winning the affections of the soldiers—with them, he was at times upon the most familiar and sociable terms; but knew well how to check any thing which had

the appearance of forwardness or ill-timed familiarity. Fearless, cool, intrepid and calculating in the midst of danger, he could make no allowance for those whose nerves were of a more sensitive texture. When the writer first became acquainted with the General, he was the last surviving (American) General of the Revolutionary army. He was then the only relict of that glorious band of patriots who were his compeers, to read the story of their sufferings and triumphs.

“As the proud oak* that braves the pelting storm,
Unbroke, unbent, though lightnings play sublime,
Though ninety years have marked thy war-worn form,
Thou stand'st alone amid the march of time.
First in the lists where warring champions stood,
Whose free-born spirits brook'd no sceptred lord,
Thy deeds of fame were writ in tyrants' blood,
And freedom blest thy ever-conquering sword.” *CS*

Though broken down with age and infirmities, his memory was still clear and distinct in regard to the military events in which he took part in the seven years war under Lord Howe and General Amherst. The events of the Revolution had then mostly escaped his recollection; he had however enough of them at command to dictate an appropriate letter to President Munroe, who had served with him at Trenton, but whose numerous engagements prevented his paying him a visit during his tour of New Hampshire.

The events of the last war with Great Britain,

* The eminence occupied by the Hessians at the battle of Bennington, is now called “Hessian Hill.” A traveller a few years since, described it as covered with a growth of bushes and young oaks. One noble oak which apparently had braved the storms of an hundred winters, still towered above the surrounding dwarfs, not unaptly reminding the spectator, of the veteran Hero who had been crowned with its wreathes, and who still survived to witness in the happiness of posterity, the result of his glorious achievements.

were watched by the General with the strictest attention. After the surrender of General Hull, he was informed that the brass cannon taken at Bennington,* which bore the inscription of August 16, 1777, were surrendered to the enemy. He was highly incensed at the loss of his guns, as he termed them;—and lamented that his age and infirmities prevented his again taking the field for his country.

He read with delight, the complete overthrow of the enemy at New Orleans, and pronounced the hero of the west, worthy to command the nation.

At that alarming crisis in the history of this country “when the chafed Lion of New-England leaped upon the daring huntsman, who had galled him, and bade defiance to his power,” Stark was one of the first who declared for his country, and assembled a regiment of daring Irish and Scotchmen for her service, who proved themselves throughout the war, worthy of their European ancestors. After having rendered important services in the arduous

* These beautiful brass pieces of artillery were destined to undergo several of the vicissitudes of war. They are French cast, and were brought from Quebec, with the army of Burgoyne, and captured at Baum’s defeat. They were inscribed “taken at Bennington August 16, 1777.” They constituted part of the artillery of Hull’s army, and fell into the enemy’s hands at Detroit. An officer of Hull’s army, mentions an anecdote respecting them, as follows. He was near the station of the field artillery, when the British officer of the day, ordered the evening salutes to be fired from the American cannon, who at the same time reading the inscription “taken at Bennington August 16, 1777,” observed that he would cause to be added as an additional line to the verse “Retaken at Detroit August 16, 1812.” The guns were carried by the British, down to Fort George, at the mouth of Niagara, where they fell into the hands of the American army, which captured that Fortress. General Dearborn had them transported to Sacket’s Harbour, and with them, says our informant, (Captain Jonathan Eastman Jr.) we fired the salutes in honour of Harrison’s victory over Proctor at the Thames in upper Canada. The guns are now at Washington.

campaigns of the French war under Howe, Abercrombie and Amherst—after sustaining his part gallantly in the fields of Bunker's Hill and Trenton, and contributing much to the result of those important actions—he had the mortification to find himself overlooked in the line of promotion, and men who were his inferiors in rank, who had scarcely seen the fire of an enemy, or the smoke of his camp, promoted over him. He remonstrated to Congress, but all to no purpose;—and rather than submit to the injustice of the measure, he resigned his commission and retired from the army.

When the invader advanced from the north with a powerful force, and all the energies of the country became necessary to repel his attack, the authorities of his native state, directed their attention to General Stark, relying upon his military reputation and popularity to call out the militia of New Hampshire and Vermont. At their request, laying aside the recollection of his wrongs, he called upon his friends, the yeomanry of the country, and they obeyed his voice. The victory, of Bennington discovered to his astonished countrymen the rare spectacle of undisciplined militia fighting for their fire sides and homes, and triumphing over British veterans. The enemy were attacked, front, flank and rear at the same moment, and not one escaped. A second division which arrived to their support, was immediately attacked and totally defeated, though part of the detachment escaped under cover of the night, otherwise they would have shared the fate of their comrades.

Mr. Jefferson some years since, speaking of himself, General Stark, and Mr. Adams, then the eldest patriarchs of the Revolution, in regard to the objects which were most agreeable to the recollections of each of them, makes use of this observation;—
“ Stark talked of his Bennington and exulted in his

glory." Exultation in the usual sense of the term did not belong to him. To all the committees from different states who congratulated him upon his success, his answer was "that any other man would have done as well under similar circumstances." And well might the hero exult in his fame. He had struck an immortal blow in the cause of liberty, which turned the tide of conquest against her enemies, and gave hope and confidence to his despairing friends in the common cause. It was not the loud shout of successful ambition, but the honest expression of true patriotism, which characterised his triumph. The liberty of his country was the prize for which he contended—to free the land of his birth from foreign dependence, and not merely the gathering of military laurels, was the object of this soldier citizen; when that was obtained, he retired to domestic life, and never more solicited, or received a public employment. It must have been extremely gratifying to his feelings, to observe the effect of his successes upon Congress, late so hostile to his promotion, in drawing from them commissions and votes of thanks.

It is however worthy of remark, that while Congress liberally bestowed upon distinguished actors in the great Revolutionary drama, swords and medals in approbation of their services, the total defeat of a veteran enemy, the capture and destruction of a thousand men, and a death blow given to the hopes of the invader, was complimented by the Old Congress, with a generous vote of thanks bestowed upon the hero of Bennington.

In person the General was about the middle size, extremely well proportioned, and in his youth was remarkable for vigor, activity, and the capability of sustaining fatigue; as was proved during the French war, in which a single bear-skin and a roll of snow was frequently the war couch of our gal-

lant veterans. He was a man of kindness and hospitality, which through life he extended to all his broken down companions in arms, and all others who sought his assistance. One remarkable fact in the life of General Stark, is, that although often engaged in close and desperate combat with the French and Indians, and afterwards with the British and Tories, in the Revolution, he was never struck by a shot, or wounded in any manner by the enemy.

His character in his private, was as unexceptionable as in his public life. His manners were frank and open; though tinged with an eccentricity, peculiar to himself, and useful to society. He sustained through life, the reputation of a man of honor, and integrity, friendly to the industrious, and enterprising—severe to the idle and unworthy—society may venerate the memory of an honest citizen, and the nation, of a hero, whose eulogy is written in the remembrance of his countrymen.



The following articles connected with the life of General Stark, are selected from his papers; the remainder of which, will be published in the New-Hampshire Historical Collections.

Copy of a petition to the Government of New-Hampshire in 1754, as on file in the office of the Secretary of State.

“Amos Eastman of Pennacook, and John Stark of Starkstown, [Dunbarton], both in the Province of New-Hampshire, of lawful age, testify and say :

main Henry March 16, 1757. The bank provided
 safe conclusion but did not saw blood

see p. 171

That on the 28th day of April 1752, they were in company with William Stark of Starkstown, and David Stinson of Londonderry, on one of the branches of Pemigewasset river, about 18 miles from Stevenstown, [Salisbury], and that on the same day, towards night, the Indians captivated the said John, and the next morning soon after day break, captivated the said Amos, and fired on David Stinson and William Stark; killed, scalped, and stripped the said David; (and the said William made his escape) and carried the deponents both to Canada, who did not return till the sixth of August then next. That the stuff the Indians took from the deponents and their company, was of the value of five hundred and sixty pounds at the least, old tenor, for which they have no restitution. That the said Amos was sold to the French, and for his redemption paid sixty dollars to his master, besides all his expenses of getting home. That the said John Stark purchased his redemption of the Indians, for which he paid one hundred and three dollars, besides all his expenses getting home. That there were 10 Indians in company who captivated the deponents, and lived at St. Francois. They often told the deponents it was not peace. One Francis Titi-gaw was the chief of the scout. There was in their scout one named Peer, a young sagamore that belonged to St. Francois."

The deponents made oath to the preceding, May 23, 1754, before Joseph Blanchard, Esq. one of his Majesty's justices of the Peace.

In a memorial presented by William Stark, Amos Eastman, and John Stark, to Governor Wentworth in 1754, they say that they gave no offence to the Indians, that they had it in their power to destroy them, or defeat their enterprise; but esteeming it a time of peace, with all the Indians who

own themselves the subjects of the French King, free from expectation of any hostilities being committed against them, peaceably applied themselves to their business, till ambushed by the Indians, who killed, scalped, and stripped David Stinson, one of their company, captivated the aforesaid John and Amos, and shot at the said William who escaped, carried the said captives to Canada, and at the same time took the goods and effects of your memorialists, and said David Stinson in company, of the value of five hundred and sixty pounds at least, old tenor."

The Government never refunded any part of the above. In this respect, Massachusetts was more liberal. She redeemed all her citizens taken captive by the Indians.

Stark and Eastman were redeemed by Mr. Wheelwright of Boston to whom they afterwards paid the redemption sum.

Letter of Col. Stark to the Provincial Congress of N. H. with a report of the Battle of Bunker's Hill.

Medford, June 19, 1775.

SIR,

I embrace this opportunity by Colonel Holland,* to give you some particulars of an engagement which was fought on the 17th instant, between the British troops and the Americans. On the 16th at evening a detachment of the Massachusetts line

*Col. Holland afterwards joined the British and went to New York. He received an estate in Ireland worth 10,000 pounds as a remuneration for his confiscated estates in Londonderry, New-Hampshire.

marched by the General's* order, to make an intrenchment upon a hill in Charlestown called Charlestown Hill, near Boston, where they intrenched that night without interruption; but were attacked on the morning of the 17th very warmly by the ships of war in Charlestown river, and the batteries in Boston. Upon this, I was ordered by the General, to send a detachment of 200 men with proper officers to their assistance; which order I promptly obeyed; and appointed Lieut. Colonel Wyman to command the same. At two o'clock P. M. an express arrived with orders for my whole regiment to proceed to Charlestown, to oppose the British who were landing on Charlestown Point,† Accordingly we proceeded, and the battle soon came on, in which a number of officers and men of my regiment were killed and wounded. The officers killed were Major McClary by a cannon ball, Capt. Baldwin and Lieut. Scott by small arms.

*General Ward ordered this party to fortify Bunker's Hill; but by some mistake, they proceeded to Breed's Hill, a lesser eminence nearer Boston; which made it absolutely necessary that the British should dislodge them. This attempt produced what is called the Battle of Bunker's Hill. It first gave the enemy an idea that the Yankees could fight; and the Americans a confidence in their own courage. The British commander conducted his attack in the most imprudent manner possible. By occupying the neck with part of his force, and with the remainder to have attacked the American rear, would have cut them off effectually and saved many brave men on both sides. But as it happened the result of the action had a good effect upon the American cause, by giving the British a sample, of the courage and patriotism, of the men they had undertaken to subdue.

†Col. Stark's regiment formed the left wing of the Americans, and was thrice attacked by the regiment of Welsh Fusileers, whom they repulsed with such slaughter, that the regiment which went into action with a force of 700 strong, mustered the next morning upon parade but 83.

The whole number including officers killed and missing	15
Wounded	45

Total, killed, wounded and missing	60
------------------------------------	----

By Colonel Reed's desire, I transmit the account of those who suffered, belonging to that portion of his regiment, who were engaged.

Killed	3
Wounded	29
Missing	1
	<hr/>
	33

Total in both regiments, 93.

But we remain in good spirits, being well satisfied that where we have lost one, the enemy have lost three. I should consider it a favour if the Committee of Safety would recommend to the several towns and parishes in the Province of New Hampshire, the necessity of their detaining and sending back all the soldiers belonging to the New Hampshire Line, stationed at Medford whom they may find at a distance from the army, without a furlough from the Commanding officer.

I am Sir, with great respect,
yours, and the country's to
serve in the good cause,

JOHN STARK.

TO THE HON. MATTHEW THORNTON, Esq.

Exeter.

CONGRATULATORY LETTER FROM GEN. SCHUYLER
TO GEN. STARK.

Vanshaik's, Aug. 19, 1777.

DEAR SIR,

I do myself the pleasure to congratulate you on

the signal victory which you have gained ; please accept my best thanks. The consequence of the severe stroke the enemy have received, cannot fail of producing the most salutary results. I have despatched one of my Aids de Camp to announce your victory to Congress and the commander in Chief.

Governor Clinton is coming up with a body of Militia, and I trust that after what the enemy have received from you, their progress will be retarded and we shall yet see them driven from this part of the country.* Gen. Gates is at Albany and will this day reassume the command.

I am, dear General,

Your most obedient

PH. SCHUYLER.

LETTERS OF THANKS FROM THE STATE OF VERMONT.

State of Vermont, in council of Safety.

Bennington, Sept. 6, 1777.

The council's compliments most cordially wait on his honor Brigadier General Stark, with their sincere thanks for the honor the General has been pleased to do them, by presenting a Hessian broad sword, taken by a number of troops from the State of New Hampshire and elsewhere, under his immediate command, in the ever memorable battle fought at Walloomschaik, near this place, on the sixteenth day of August last ; and also, for the honor the General has been pleased to do them, in applauding their exertions for the public as a council.

BRIG. GEN. STARK.

*Better still, they were driven to Boston.

*State of Vermont. In Council of Safety.**Bennington, 20th Sept. 1777.*

The council beg leave to return their sincere thanks to the Hon. Brigadier Gen. John Stark, for the infinite service he has been pleased to do them, in defending them, and their constituents, from the cruelty and bloody rage of our unnatural enemy, who sought our destruction on the 16th of August last. They also return their grateful acknowledgements for the honor the General has been pleased to do the council, by presenting them with one Hessian gun, with a bayonet, one broadsword, one brass barrell'd drum, and a grenadier's cap taken on the memorable 16th of August, for the use of this State. The General may rely upon it, they will be reserved for the use they were designed.

I am, dear General,
with sentiments of esteem,
your most obedient
humble servant,

THOMAS CHITTENDEN;
President.

HON. BRIG. GEN. STARK.

A similar collection of trophies, was presented to the State of New Hampshire. They were boxed up, and kept some time in the old Court house at Portsmouth; we understand they were some years since, sold to get them out of the way, being considered an incumbrance, and unworthy of preservation by an enlightened posterity. In the States of Vermont and Massachusetts, these venerable trophies have been preserved in a conspicuous place, and it would not appear to have been very derogatory to the wisdom of a New Hampshire Legislature, to have done the same; for if there are circumstances in their history, of which they have reason to be

proud, it is the gallantry of their countrymen at Bunker's Hill, Trenton, Bennington, Saratoga and Monmouth.

State of New-Hampshire. In Committee of Safety.

DEAR SIR,

The committee received yours of the 18th inst. with the greatest pleasure, and have directed me to present their very sincere thanks to you, the officers and soldiers under your command, for their brave and spirited conduct manifested in the late battle, and for the very essential service done the country at this critical period. I hope sir, that the late success may be a prelude to greater things of the same kind, and that Heaven will yet bestow many blessings upon our country, through your hands.

Fervently praying that the God of armies may protect you in the day of battle, be a shield and buckler to our countrymen under your command, and that he may give success and victory to all your undertakings, I do in behalf of the committee, subscribe myself your most

obedient and very
humble servant,

M. WEARE, *Chairman.*

HON. GEN. STARK.

*Letter of President Hancock enclosing vote of thanks,
and a commission in the army of the United States.*

Yorktown, Pa. Oct. 5, 1777.

Sir,

It is with the greatest pleasure I transmit the en-

closed resolve of Congress, expressing the thanks of that body to you, and to the officers and troops under your command, for the signal victory you obtained over the enemy in the late battle at Bennington. In consideration of your distinguished conduct on that occasion, and the service you rendered the cause of freedom and your country, the Congress have been pleased to appoint you a Brigadier in the army of the United States.—Be pleased to communicate to the officers and troops under your command, this mark of the approbation of their country for their exertions in defence of American Liberty. I enclose your commission and have the honor to be with the greatest esteem and respect Sir,

Your most obedt. and very
humble servant,

JOHN HANCOCK, *President.*

Hon. BRIG. GEN. STARK.

RESOLVE OF CONGRESS.

In Congress October 4, 1776.

Resolved, That the thanks of Congress be presented to General Stark of the New Hampshire Militia, and the officers and troops under his command for their brave and successful attack upon, and signal victory over the enemy in their lines at Bennington and that Brigadier Stark be appointed a Brigadier in the army of the United States.

By order of Congress.

JOHN HANCOCK, *President.*

GERMAN FIDELITY.

Albany Augst. 12, 1778.

DEAR SIR,

Thirteen Germans, have been before us and advanced for reasons for not taking the oath of alle-

giance, that the time of their contract with their Prince is not yet expired, after which they will be at liberty to make a new one. Upon recommendations of their conduct, we have permitted them to return to Schoharie, upon their taking an oath of neutrality to the States. Your concurrence in, or disapprobation of the measure, will be necessary.

Your humble servts.

MAT. VISSIGHER.

HON. GEN. STARK.

JER. VAN RENSSELAER.

ISAAC D. FORDE.

Concurred in.

J. S.

THE FOLLOWING IS A LETTER FROM THE ECCENTRIC
COL. ETHAN ALLEN.

Bennington, June 18, 1778.

DEAR SIR,

I lately received a letter from General Gates, requesting me to furnish you assistance in defending the norther frontier. I shall be happy to render any aid in my power, to that service. Your reputation and the hatred and fear with which you are regarded by the Tories, those infernal enemies of American liberty, induce me to propose a visit to your quarters in Albany as soon as our affairs are in a little better way. The Tories and the friends of Tories give us some trouble as yet. Their management in a great measure, keeps alive the anarchy which has heretofore disturbed the peace of Vermont. I am of the opinion, that we shall never be at peace while one of the traitors is suffered to remain in the country. I hear you are doing well,*

*Doing well, here means hanging. Several were about this time hung by order of the sovereign people.

with some of them at Albany. I hope in a few days to be able to pay my respects to a man, for whose republican character, and important services, I have the highest veneration and esteem.

I am sir,
very respectfully,

ETHAN ALLEN.

HON. GEN. STARK.

THE ANSWER.

Albany June 20, 1778.

DEAR SIR,

Your favor of the 18th inst. has just arrived wherein you promise me a visit.—You may be assured, I shall be very happy in receiving one, from a man where fame has been so extensive, and whom I never yet had the pleasure of seeing.

As for the political matters you have in hand, I cordially agree with you in sentiment. You may rely upon my cooperating with you in all measures which may be necessary, for purging the land of freedom from such most infamous and diabolical villains.

As to Bedel's regiment, if any iniquity has been practised upon the public, I hope in a few days to discover it. I shall be obliged to you for using your best endeavours to ascertain their number, employment, &c. &c.

Please accept my best wishes for your success and happy settlement of the business now on hand.

I am sir,
your friend and,
humble servant.

JOHN STARK.

COL. ETHAN ALLEN.

NEW HAMPSHIRE RESOLVE IN FAVOR OF THEIR
OWN LINE.

State of New-Hampshire. In the House of Representatives.

December 24, 1779,

The committee to confer with a committee of officers from the army, respecting the reinlistment of our continental troops, and the allowance which shall be made for the depreciation, to the officers and soldiers who have served in the continental battalions belonging to this state—

Report that a bounty of \$ 300, in addition to the encouragement allowed by Congress, be paid to each non-commissioned officer and soldier, who shall enlist as one of the State's quota, of the continental army, during the present war. And that each officer and soldier shall be entitled to all the emoluments promised by a resolution of the state, passed the 26th day of march last; that their accounts shall be settled yearly; and the respective balances paid or security given therefor; that the polls of such officers and soldiers, shall be exempted from all kind of taxes whatever; and their estates both real and personal shall be exempted during their continuance in said service, from all town taxes levied for the purpose of raising troops. The committee beg leave further to report that all officers and soldiers who are considered as paid of the State's quota of the continental army, shall be allowed for the depreciation of money, in the rates of *two for one* for the year 1775; *six for one* for 1778; and *twenty for one* for 1779; and arrearages which shall be found due on the adjustment of the accounts up to the first of January 1780, shall be paid by the first of March next, or security given therefor.

The committee beg leave to recommend that some provision be made for the widows and orphans of

such officers and soldiers, as have died or shall die in the Service of this state, which is respectfully submitted by

JOSEPH BARTLETT.

For the Committee.

The foregoing being read and considered, voted that the same be received and accepted.

Sent up for concurrence,

J. LANGDON, *Speaker.*

In committee the same day read and concurred,

E. THOMPSON, *Secretary.*

RESOLUTION OF THE PATRIOTIC STATE OF NEW-YORK
VESTING IMPORTANT POWERS IN THE COMMANDER
IN CHIEF.

State of New-York, in Senate.

October 10, 1780.

A message from the Hon. the House of Assembly, was received with the following resolution for concurrence. viz. "Resolved unanimously that the delegates from this State be instructed to declare in Congress; that it is the earnest wish of this State, that Congress should during the war, or until a perpetual confederation should be completed, exercise every power which they may deem necessary, for an effectual prosecution of the war; and that whenever it shall appear, that any State is deficient in furnishing the quota of men, money, provisions or other supplies required of each State, that Congress direct the Commander in Chief without delay, to march the army or such part of it as may be requisite, into such State, and by a military force, compel it to furnish its deficiency.

Resolved, that his Excellency the Governor be requested to transmit a copy of the foregoing resolu-

tion to the delegates from this State in Congress;— Resolved that this Senate do concur with the Honorable the House of Assembly in their said resolution.

Extract from the minutes,

ROBERT BENSON, *Clerk,*

MEMORIALS TO CONGRESS FOUND AMONG GENERAL STARK'S PAPERS.

In July 1780, the General Officers of the old army addressed the first of the following memorials to Congress;—which not being noticed by that body, they addressed a second to the Legislatures of their several State's setting forth in strong and glowing colors their wrongs and sufferings; and representing in forcible terms, the fatal consequences which would follow, a further denial of their just and necessary demands.

To the Honorable the Representatives of the freemen of America, in Congress assembled.

The memorial of the subscribers, General Officers in the army of the United States, in behalf of themselves, and the officers and soldiers of the army humbly sheweth:

That on the ——— of ——— last, they did lay before Congress a representation of the grievances under which they labored, couched in terms decent and respectful, praying redress; that to their infinite mortification, although their grievances have continued to increase, no redress has been granted them, nor any notice taken of their complaints:

They conceive it to be not merely a right, but their duty, to state to Congress, not only their own sufferings, but those of the officers and soldiers under their command; and they assure Congress that from a variety of circumstances, but chiefly the depreciation of paper money, and the restrictions in regard to rations, for which, no adequate remedy has been provided, their situation has become intolerable:

That the army have given such unequivocal proof of their patriotism, and self denial, as to entitle them to the generous rewards of a grateful people. They now request only that justice, which their situation, and that to which many of them have reduced their families, so imperiously claim.

That to this end, the depreciation of the paper ought immediately to be settled, and paid off, either in specie, or paper, at the current exchange. But if from the State of the Treasury, this course should be inconvenient, loan office certificates redeemable at a short period, and bearing the common interest should be issued; and that the army in future, ought to receive their pay at the real value of currency when established; and also, that all officers be allowed to draw the whole number of rations, to which they were originally entitled, or be paid the full value of such as may be retained in the hands of the commissary—that the deplorable situation to which have been reduced in many instances, the families of the men, who have nobly sacrificed their lives in defence of their country's liberty, loudly demands an immediate remedy.

An enlightened people contending for the noblest rights of humanity, cannot a moment hesitate, to cheer the hearts of the desponding widows and fatherless children, of those brave men who have died in their cause. It may also be observed, that a full confidence in the justice of their country, in

making suitable provision for the families of deceased officers and soldiers, would be an all powerful excitement, to the exertions of all ranks of the army.

Your memorialists beg leave further to represent, that besides their complaint in common with their fellow soldiers, their establishment as General Officers, is unequal to their station, the honor of their country, and the good of the service. They therefore request, that in addition to the rations they are entitled to receive, a sum may be allowed to each General Officer, to enable him to support a table suitable to the rank he holds. This, they consider reasonable under circumstances; but more especially so at present, as they may soon be called upon to act in concert with troops liberally paid in specie, which by giving them a complete command of all the produce of the country, will constantly present a disagreeable contrast, and render our situation already sufficiently irksome, altogether insupportable.

That they beg leave in the name of the army, to offer Congress the strongest assurances of their love of country, and zeal in the common cause; but are constrained to remark, that to these objects, they have for years sacrificed, their time, their health, and their fortunes. If then from inattention of the Representatives of the people, to these just complaints, combined with those presented last year, (to which they beg leave to refer,) the army, exposed as they are, to the rapacity of every other class of the community, should be obliged to quit the service, and any ill consequences arise to their country, they leave it to the world to determine, who ought to be responsible for them.

The distress of the army is so great, and their claims for immediate redress so urgent, that your memorialists are induced to send this representation

by a General Officer, who will furnish any explanation required by Congress.

Signed by the General Officers of the army.

July, 1780.

MEMORIAL TO THE SEVERAL NEW ENGLAND STATES.

We the underwritten General Officers of the New-England lines, deem it our duty to unite in a serious address, to the several States to which we belong, to represent the distressing condition of their officers, in the army of the United States.

After having joined our brother officers of the line at large, in two ineffectual applications to Congress upon the subject, nothing but the purest regard for the safety of the country, could impel us to undertake a third essay of the kind.

We beg leave to premise, that a large proportion of the officers engaged in service, with an intention of making one campaign only—neither they, nor their country, thought of their becoming soldiers for life, or for a long war. Their inclination, constitutions, and circumstances, forbade such expectations; but from a conviction, that their growing experience was of the utmost importance to the cause, they have been induced, in opposition to every private consideration, to extend their services from one period, to another, constantly flattering themselves with the hope, that every new campaign would be the last; and bring about the long wished for period, of their return to the bosom of their families and friends. The perseverance, and constancy of the army under their numerous hardships, and privations, excited the admiration and applause of their country, until the personal, and family distresses of the officers and soldiers, constrained them,

to remind their fellow citizens of their wants, and the necessity on their part, of an equitable and grateful return. From that time, many (not those who have met the enemy in the field) have pretended to entertain an ill grounded and impolitic jealousy of the army. The officers have been charged with acquiring wealth, and aspiring after honours, and distinctions; and that too, at a time, when it has required all the persuasion within the compass of language and argument, to retain them in the service.

A laudable pride, arising from a just sense of the real dignity of their station and employment, an ambition of excelling, which has been esteemed by all wise nations, as a passion amiable in itself, and an essential support to that authority, necessary for the government of every well constituted army, have rendered the officers of our army, opprobrious to too many in civil life, some of whom, and even those of power and influence, have laboured to counteract and debase the principle, by denying the officers, not only, a suitable provision to maintain their character as such, but by suffering them to be in want of the necessaries of food and clothing.

The officers are sensible of the public embarrassments. They have been attentive to the administration of civil, as well as military affairs, and forward in suggesting their views upon every proper occasion, with an honest zeal, for promoting the welfare of the army, and the States. They do not expect impossibilities of the government; but are desirous of experiencing that effusion of a liberal heart, which it is possible to exhibit, even in a state of poverty. Generosity is the characteristic of the soldier. For the love of his country, he exposes health and life; for which, no equivalent can be returned him; should he not then, be spared the mortification of receiving his scanty pittance from a reluctant hand?

The present incomes of a majority of the people, who sustain the burthen of the public charges, are proportioned to the increased prices of the necessaries of life.

It is objected, that those who subsist upon fixed salaries, upon the interest of their money, or have been injured by the ravages of the enemy, share as largely as the army, in the common calamity it argues no more than, that such persons ought to be favoured by some exemption, or that those who have suffered less, should contribute to their indemnity.

Were the situation and circumstances of the army fully understood by the people at large, we are persuaded their wisdom and sensibilities would be exerted, to render the situation of officers and soldiers as eligible, and happy as possible.

To us, the war appears to be as far from an honorable issue, as it has ever been. Our allies however generous their intentions, have not been able to afford us the expected assistance; and perhaps, Providence by repeated disappointments from that quarter, designs to convince us, that our salvation is under God, to be derived from our own exertions.

There is no ground to expect, that the enemy will relinquish their object, until they find the country prepared to defend itself: that is, until they are opposed by an army as regular, and established upon as permanent a basis, as their own. Our present condition promises them the speedy accomplishment of their wishes.

An army, consisting of a few inadequate thousands, almost destitute of every public supply, its officers, whose tables once abounded with plenty and variety, subsisting month after month, upon barely one ration of dry bread and meat, and that, frequently of the meanest quality, their families

looking to them for their usual support, and their children for that education to which they once had a title: all these things have a certain and direct tendency to accomplish the object so desirable to the British ministry. Our enemies know human nature too well, to apprehend they shall long be compelled to contend with an army, under such circumstances.

In faithfulness to our country, we make these statements without the solicitation, or knowledge of those officers, who are chiefly interested. We are assured, that they have determined generally, to resign their commissions at the close of this campaign. Indeed, it is absolutely impossible for them longer to continue under such circumstances, however great may be their virtue and patriotism; and we cannot refrain from expressing our decided opinion, that the loss of our present body of veteran officers, will prove the dissolution of the army.

If the country is competent to its defence without a regular army, nothing further need be said upon the subject; ours may be suffered to progress as it now does, to final dissolution. But if on the other hand, a well appointed army is absolutely necessary, its component materials should be made easy and contented with their situation; and reasonable things will satisfy them.

The officers have we conceive, a just claim to a handsome support, according to their rank, for the time present, and to be made sure of an after provision, to compensate for the loss of business, and enable them when the war is over, to live among their fellow citizens above contempt.

Without a provision of this kind, a pitiful penury, if not actual want and misery, must be the unavoidable portion, of many brave men who have faithfully discharged their duty as officers and citizens.

The wages and rations of the officers if paid in specie, (much less in notes) are by no means sufficient to support them with decency and comfort to themselves, and advantage to the service. The necessities of life have risen to three times their former prices, in specie; and as for the depreciation notes, (so called) they do not sell for one third of their nominal value.

It is our opinion that nothing short of the full amount of the wages and rations made good from time to time in its relative value to the property of the country, will, or ought to be satisfactory; this has been allowed to the New-York line; and add to a future provision, we ask no more than what the last mentioned State, and the southern States have done, or may do, for their respective lines, serving in the same army with ours.

If it should be thought best to vary the mode of payment, there will be no objection on our part.

A sum in gross will be more agreeable and advantageous to the eastern officers, and more consonant with the sentiments prevailing in their several States than an annuity unaccompanied with services.

Here we would take occasion to mention, that some States appear to be taking measures to attach to themselves, the affection of their own troops; with what views, we are ignorant; but should suppose, that similar motives for the same line of conduct, must exist in every State.

We beg leave to add, as a measure of propriety and justice, that a reasonable consideration ought to be paid to all officers, who through ill health, shall

be compelled to retire from service before the conclusion of the war.

Signed,

N. GREEN, Maj. General.

SAMUEL H. PERSONS, Brig. Gen.

JOHN PATTERSON, Brig. Gen.

JOHN GLOVER, Brig. Gen.

JOHN STARK, Brig. Gen.

J. HUNTINGTON, Brig. Gen.

H. KNOX, Brig. Gen. Artillery.

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The following correspondence between Gen. Stark and Gen. Sullivan, then, a member of Congress, and a strenuous supporter of the rights of the army, relates to the result of the foregoing memorials. Congress granted the officers half pay for life and made more satisfactory provisions for their support while in actual service.

Nov. 13, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

Long service in the defence of my country, has at length, so far impaired my constitution, as to render it necessary, that the remainder of my days should be spent in domestic retirement.

But Sir knowing you to be my confidential friend, a friend to the rights of the army, and to justice at large, I think I may more properly apply to you for advice, than to any other man, within the circle of my acquaintance. Your conduct, and the late liberality of Congress have induced the army to believe that, although their friends are still in the minority, their exertions are unwearied, and their influence daily increasing in the grand Legislature of America. You may rest assured, that the officers

the army are not backward in pronouncing the eulogium of those illustrious patriots, to whose exertions, they consider themselves indebted, for that reward to which their long and faithful services have so justly entitled them.

Notwithstanding this generous treatment of the regimental officers, those of superior rank are still forgotten, or rather, let us suppose that Congress is now making such arrangements, and future provisions for those, whose health will not permit them to remain until the conclusion of hostilities, as will do honour to that body and to their country; and evince to the world, how highly they value the merits of those officers who have thus far, conducted their armies.

For my own part, should any provision be made suitable to my rank, or should I be under the necessity of retiring without that provision, my life and services shall always be in readiness to answer my country's call; and whenever the wishes of my fellow citizens, or the exigencies of the public require me to take the field for short periods, I shall cheerfully exert my influence to encourage, and by personal hazards endeavour to stimulate my countrymen, to actions worthy of freeborn Americans. These services my shattered constitution will yet permit me to perform.

I cannot think of resigning at this hour, especially after having been induced to continue in service by no other motive, than an ardent zeal for my country, hoping that every new campaign would prove the last, until I am in a manner unable to leave it.

The conclusion of the war appears altogether uncertain, and my health *strongly urges me to retire

*The General obtained leave of absence and returned home; he recovered his health, and in the spring again took the field.

for a time at least, to my farm now in a ruinous state, for want of proper management and cultivation, during my long engagements in the service of my country ; for that difficulty a remedy may be provided, but the decays of nature are irreparable.

I will not farther trouble your patience at this time, but reserve further particulars for the subject of a future letter, fully convinced that you will comprehend my meaning, from what has already been said.

I have the honor to be Sir,
 very respectfully,
 Your friend and serv't.

JOHN STARK.

MAJ. GEN. SULLIVAN,
 now member of the Continental Congress.

Philadelphia, Nov. 26, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

I am favoured with your letter of the 13th instant, and am sorry for the decline of your health.

I am happy to learn that the late allowances to the army, are so pleasing and in assuring you, that the tide has turned and now sets strongly in their favour. I wish it may continue.

The allowance of half pay is undoubtedly extended to General, as well as other officers ; but no provision is yet made, for those whose ill health compels them to retire. My advice to you, is that you send a request to Congress, for leave to retire for a short time for the recovery of your health, which I will take care shall answer every purpose. In it you will please to mention, that whenever

your health will permit, you will cheerfully return to the field.

I am, Dear Sir,
 your assured friend,
 and most obedient servant,
 JOHN SULLIVAN.

HON. GEN. STARK.

TO GEN. SULLIVAN.

December 10, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

Your favor of 26th ult. was delivered last evening, and in conformity to your advice, I have enclosed a letter to the President of Congress, which you will be so good as to deliver.

I am sorry to acquaint you that the army is at present, in a condition truly deplorable; they are destitute of money, have no clothing, and as a crowning mercy, have not even the prospect or promise of redress or supplies.

This being our situation, you can without difficulty imagine what our feelings are. I cannot but remark, that it is my candid opinion, that unless speedy measures are taken to pay off the army, the consequences must be dangerous to the States. A hint to the wise is sufficient. The army apprehend less danger from the sword of the enemy, than from the ingratitude of their Government.*

The letter to the President is open for your perusal, if you think proper. Please deliver it in the customary manner, upon such occasions.

Major Scott has by accident lost his commission;

*The result has proved that an apprehension was never better grounded.

the enclosed letter is to the board of war for a new one, which you will oblige me by forwarding.

I am, dear Sir,

very respectfully,

your obedient servant,

JOHN STARK.

HON. MAJ. GEN. SULLIVAN,

Member of Congress.

Philadelphia, Nov. 28, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

Since I wrote you, I have obtained the two enclosed resolutions. The first gives to the line of each State, the journals of Congress. The second must remove all doubt respecting half pay for General Officers.

I am at a loss, what to do respecting such of the General Officers, as may by ill health, or other misfortune, be rendered unfit for service, and compelled to retire. In Europe, General Officers are never reduced to half pay : when age and infirmity, or other misfortune renders them unfit for service, they have leave to retire, but their pay continues. If they recover so far as to be able to take the field, or command in Garrison, they are again called forth, or placed at the head of some board, or are made Governors of some Island, Colony, or Garrison. I wish you to consult the General Officers near you and take their opinion ; inform me what they would wish to have done in the case and I will attend to it ; and I beg of you and them, to keep the whole a secret.

I am, with much esteem,

dear Sir, your most

obedient servant,

JOHN SULLIVAN.

HON. GEN. STARK.

Gen. Heath's direction for the grand forage to mask Washington's attempt on Staten Island.

TO BRIG. GEN. STARK.

Head Quarters, West-Point, Nov. 19, 1780:

SIR,

Having thought it expedient to make a grand forage in the county of West Chester, between our lines and those of the enemy, to secure to ourselves, and prevent falling into the hands of the enemy, the beef cattle, grain, and hay, with which that country abounds, I have made the following disposition for that purpose. The five companies which marched this day are directed to impress the teams of the adjacent country, which amount to 200; and will rendezvous at certain places appointed by assistant Quarter Master Campbell. The five companies are to keep with the teams during the forage within the chain of covering troops, to preserve order and protect the foragers from being interrupted by refugees, and cowboys. In which, you will particularly instruct them.

The troops destined to cover the foragers, will consist of a detachment from this post, thrown into three commands. The troops of the Jersey and New York line, to be commanded by Col. Shreve; those of your brigade, of Michael Jackson's and Col. Bradley's detachments, by Col. Commandant Henry Jackson; those of late Poor's Brigade will act under Colonel Commandant Cilley; and a detachment of artillery with three small field pieces, will be commanded by Capt. Thomas.

The country proposed for the forage, lies in the rear of Dobb's Ferry, White Plains, and the southern parts of Maroneck.

The troops are to march on Tuesday morning next; those at West Point will cross over as early

as possible. On their arrival at Mr. Pemarts, below the Continental village, they will be joined by the artillery, and three waggons with twelve casks of hard bread, some rum and salt. The tumbrils contain besides the ammunition for the field pieces, a number of musket cartridges. The troops will from thence, continue their march; those under immediate command of Colonel Shreve, taking the road to Croten new bridge, with one field piece, tumbril, and waggon of bread, the other taking the road to Pine bridge, on the way to which, they will be joined by Capt. Holmes with 100 regulars and militia. The march of the troops is to be conducted, so that those on the right are to be a little below Croten bridge, on Wednesday evening; and the others at North Castle, where the waggons for each of the routes will rendezvous that night: the column at North Castle, will be joined by Col. Sheldon with the 2d dragoons, and a detachment of infantry; one third of the former, will in the afternoon of Wednesday, join the column on the right. Col. Shreve will take the necessary precaution to prevent accidents through mistake, when they approach him. This detachment of dragoons is to continue with the right column, during the forage; a subaltern, sergeant, and twenty men are to be left at each bridge, when the columns pass, to remain there with proper instructions, while the troops remain below.

On Thursday next the 23d inst. the greatest punctuality as to time and exactness as to movement of the several columns, is to be observed, be the weather what it may. If it should be deemed expedient, at North Castle, to divide the troops into two or more columns, it may be done; but these, as well as the column on the right, are to be at the place, where the chain is to be formed between one and two o'clock in the afternoon of the said day, the lat-

ter hour not to be exceeded, and the progress of the column should be slower or faster accordingly.

Part of the horse having joined the right column, the remainder are to be with the other column, and when the troops take up their line of march, are to be detached in front with small parties of infantry in their rear, to reconnoitre the country. When the troops arrive at their ground and form their chain, the greatest precaution will be necessary. Patroles of horse and infantry, are to be kept at proper distances, on all the roads and avenues leading to the enemy, to bring the earliest notice of his movements.

The troops will lay upon their arms at night, and it may be advisable to make movements after dark, to deceive the enemy—no fires are to be lighted during the night. The waggons will follow the troops at a proper distance, and when the chain is formed, begin to forage and collect the stock, under the direction of those appointed for the purpose, who are to be supported if necessary. The foraging is to be executed with great expedition, and as the teams are loaded, or cattle collected, they are to move upwards with small escorts. As it is probable the forage will not be completed on Thursday afternoon, it is to be continued on Friday early in the morning. When the foragers have returned, the troops will slowly retire, at some distance behind them, keeping the strictest precaution.

If attacked by the enemy, the goodness and bravery of your troops, will insure you every thing that can be expected, from the best officers and soldiers.

In case of the enemy's advance, give the earliest notice to the foragers to retire under your cover. Keep up a communication between your columns by patroles of horse, and light parties, and support each other, as occasion may require. The cannon will seasonably announce the alarm from those at-

tacked. If the enemy should come out in such force, that prudence and policy should dictate a more cautious line of conduct, collect your force, occupy the most advantageous grounds, and act as circumstances may require.

Your right column will keep a close watch upon the river, and should the enemy attempt to convey a body of troops in vessels and boats on that side of you, you will keep pace with them, recross Croten river, or return to this post, according to circumstances. Please inform me of every occurrence whether favourable or otherwise. Preserve throughout the whole expedition the strictest order and the most rigid discipline.

Suffer no insults or abuse to be offered the inhabitants, and prohibit all plundering. You will be joined by a troop of militia light horse under Capt. Delavan ; and the militia under Col. Thomas, both of whom from their knowledge of the country may be of service to you.

When necessary, issue your hard bread and rum, the latter is all that can be spared. As you will have beef cattle, kill such as you require. Settle with Major Campbell, a line of expresses to communicate your intelligence.

A regiment of Connecticut troops may form on your left on Thursday, some where south east of Maroneck ; before retiring, give them notice, that they may also fall back.

Confiding in your zeal, bravery, and good conduct ; I commit the execution of this enterprise to you. Your own good judgment will lead you to take such further steps, as may be necessary for effecting the object in view.

Wishing you success, and an agreeable command.

I am with great regard,

Sir,

Your most obedient serv't.

WM. HEATH.

Major General.

West Point, Nov. 23, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

As the weather has been bad since you left, and may have retarded the teams, and as the quantity of forage below, may be considerable, and the teams may be longer employed to advantage, dont move up with the troops until you hear further on that head.

With great regard,

W. HEATH.

Nov. 23, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

Yours of this date, was received by Major Fisk, but previous to the receipt, I had ordered the troops to march ; those of the centre column, I immediately halted, and gave the necessary directions to the right and left columns.

I hope the forage will turn out according to your wishes, but it does not equal my expectations. The country below White Plains, is almost desolate, on account of the frequent ravages of both armies. Scarcely a farmer has more than one cow, and many who were once in affluent circumstances, are now reduced to indiscriminate poverty.

I sent Col. Sheldon's Light Dragoons to Fort Clinton, yesterday, and moved with the troops, within eight miles of King's Bridge, to cover them in case of necessity. But the caution however prudent, it may appear, was needless ; for they either did not know of our approach, or did not choose

to meet us. Twenty Militia Light horse who proceeded in front of the cavalry, took prisoners two of Delancy's men, one Bumour, cousin of the famous Major Bumour, and one Ferret a noted cow-boy, and of course a villain. He has once been condemned to be hanged, but made his escape. I have sent them to you under a guard. While the cavalry were formed upon a hill in our advance, one of them left the line and proceeded a few rods to the rear, to water his horse; curiosity led him to a house near by, where a cow-boy came up, dismounted him, and rode away his horse in triumph. If my instructions would have permitted, Morrissania that noted nest of tories, might have been plundered and burnt, but I think it too late now.

I am sir,

very respectfully,
your obedient servant.

JOHN STARK.

MAJ. GEN. HEATH.

RESOLUTION OF CONGRESS GRANTING HALF PAY FOR
LIFE TO GENERAL OFFICERS.

In Congress November 28, 1780.

On motion of Mr. Sullivan, seconded by Mr. Bland, ordered that the commander in chief, the commanding officer in the southern department, the Inspector General, the Adjutant General, and the commanding officer of each State line respectively, be supplied with the journals of Congress, for the use of the army.

Some doubts having arisen in the minds of the General officers, whether the resolutions of the 21st of October last, granting half pay for life to the officers who shall remain in service to the end of the war, extended to them—therefore:

Resolved that the said half pay for life be extended to all Major Generals and Brigadier Generals who shall continue in service to the end of the war, and that the said Resolution of the 21st of October was so meant and intended.

Attest from the minutes,

CHARLES THOMPSON, *Secretary.*

GENERAL STARK TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Peeks kill Hollow, November 30, 1780.

The impaired state of my health, and unsettled condition of my accounts with the State of New-Hampshire, renders my presence in that State the ensuing winter highly necessary. I have never as yet settled my depreciation, or received any cash from that source. Without an arrangement of these matters, it is impossible for me to subsist in the army.

The many favors I have received from you, and the zeal you have manifested for the interest of the officers under your command, induces me to ask leave of absence until spring.

The Brigade I have the honor to command, is now under orders to join its several States; therefore it is not probable, it will be in my power to render the country any essential service until next campaign.

I have the honor to be

Sir your obedient servant,

JOHN STARK.

HIS EXCELLENCY GEN. WASHINGTON.

HEAD QUARTERS.

New Windsor, December 31, 1780.

SIR,

I have received yours of the 30th ult. By a resolve of Congress of the 18th inst. which I enclose, I find that you have made application to them for liberty to retire for the reestablishment of your health. The propriety of this measure they have been pleased to refer to me; and as I shall signify my approbation, I have no objections to your setting out as soon as your health will admit. The term of absence if they choose to limit it, will depend upon Congress.

I am Sir,

your obedient servant.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

BRIG. GEN. STARK.

GENERAL STARK TO PRESIDENT WEARE

Peeks kill Hollow December 20, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

My last gave you a hint that our troops were in a suffering condition, for want of cash. None has yet been paid them by the publick, nor can I learn that any is soon expected. Their hopes must now rest solely upon the States to which they belong, for that support which is absolutely necessary, for persons employed in the defence of their country.

You certainly know whether Congress have it in their power to supply the troops with money and other necessaries. If they have, I cannot see the policy of detaining it from them; if they have not, it is necessary that the States should allow a pittance at least, sufficient to keep soul and body together.

What must be the feelings of a number of officers, who have obtained leave of absence to visit their families, without a shilling of money to pay their expenses on the road, who if they do go, must assume the character of beggars;—a circumstance truly mortifying to gentlemen of spirit, to whose profession a certain degree of gentility and dignity is requisite to entitle it to a proper respect?

Perseverance has long been their favorite topic, and hope almost their only support, but they have in a measure abandoned that. Despair stares them boldly in the face—flattery will no longer avail, an immediate remedy is their positive demand.

I am sorry to be under the necessity of writing in this manner, but I consider it a duty I owe to my country, and to the brave officers and soldiers I have the honor to command.

Lieut. Col. Dearborn will have the honor of delivering this, and can furnish any further information you may require.

I have the honor,
to be your most
obedient servant.

JOHN STARK.

HON. MESHECK WEARE.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF WAR, N. H.

SIR,

I expect to be in New-Hampshire in a few days, and wish forage to be provided for my horses.—These matters appear to be left entirely to the States, and you are therefore the proper person to whom application should be made. My allowance from the publick for myself and family, is for six saddle horses—besides four waggon horses for my baggage;

I wish that provision may be made as soon as possible.

Your obedient servant.

JOHN STARK.

GENERAL SCHUYLER TO GENERAL STARK.

Albany, September 11, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL,

Your favour of this day's date, has just come to hand. You may be assured that any intelligence received from Canada, or else where worthy of your attention, will be communicated immediately to you. I have now the pleasure of enclosing a further confirmation of the account I gave you in my last, together with some additions which may be relied upon, respecting the British fleet, which Rivington in a paper of the 5th inst. declared had gone in quest of the French fleet. It has returned to New-York, when it remains and will remain, as it cannot face the formidable fleet of our generous ally.

Governor Clinton writes that all our prisoners at New-York have been dismissed on parole, and in exchange, and that from the best accounts, great consternation prevails in that city, among the British and their infamous friends—and may God increase their apprehensions.

It was this morning reported that the infamous traitor Arnold, had made a descent upon New-London (Connecticut) and burnt the place, but it has since been contradicted. With my compliments, please inform Major Stark that I am pleased with his polite attentions, both as endearing him to me, and also that I look upon such a line of conduct in a young gentleman, as very proper, and which will

ever be attended with happy effects. I should have written him, but the express waits.

With great esteem,

I am sir,

your obedient servant.

PH. SCHUYLER.

GEN. STARK.

Saratoga, September 13, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

I am honored with yours of the 11th inst. The extra flood of good news it contains, diffuses a joy through my senses little short of delirium and makes me almost forget my declining years, and wish for health and vigor, and an opportunity of distinguishing myself in presence of our illustrious General, in aiding to humble the haughty, the arrogant, and ostentatious Earl Cornwallis. In recollection of the *ruse de guerre* we played him about the time of our Trenton affair, I should be very happy to have a share in his defeat, and capture, two events which either have already occurred, or infallibly must take place in a few days.

Poor Rivington must now be in a wretched dilemma—what excuse can he make? how extricate the British from their present difficulties? If he or any other power short of omnipotent, can, they must be adepts, indeed.

I am so pleased with the good news you send me, as almost to forget to thank you for your generous offer of sending me intelligence. Be assured Sir, that I feel exceedingly grateful for this, and every other expression of your favor.

I have no doubt of the willingness of that infamous traitor Arnold, to do his country all possible injury, but hope he has not been able in the case you

mention, to give us fresh evidence of his hateful disposition.

With esteem dear Sir,
your friend,

JOHN STARK.

HON. GEN. SCHUYLER.

GENERAL STARK TO GENERAL HEATH.

Saratoga, September 20, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

I am somewhat alarmed that no answers have been received to my several letters addressed to you. I think it impossible that all should have been miscarried, and have considered some of them, of sufficient consequence to have required an answer. By them, you will ascertain that this department is destitute of ammunition; there not being ten rounds to a man at this post—and none at Albany, subject to my order. There are no horses for expresses, or to convey provisions to the several posts; and if there were, they must starve for want of forage. We have not even paper to transact our business with, nor can we obtain it.

Now sir, if you will cast up the account, you will find the publick much in our debt, and unless these debts are paid, or more regular provision made for supplies, I hardly know what consequences may follow—no good ones can come, unless miracles interpose in our behalf.

Intelligence from Canada through several sources, leads us to conclude that an attack is designed either upon this post, or the Mohawk river. From the situation of the country, I think the attempt will be made upon this post; as the enemy can come here with only twenty-five miles land carriage—

while on the other quarter, the distance is six times that number. However if ammunition is supplied me, I hope to give any party that may come, such a reception, as will make them glad to return, if they have an opportunity.

The people of Albany are greatly alarmed for their city. They require all the troops of this district or a major part of them, to prevent about fifty Tories from burning them, their wives, horses, sloops, and houses; for it appears these turbulent sons of rapine have given out some most fearful threats, against that sacred place. However Sir, unless you order the contrary, I shall venture (in case I feel confident of the enemy's approach) to order the troops now at Albany, to this post, or to the Mohawk.

The resolutions of Congress allowed to every General Officer, I have not seen for nine months—I wish they may be sent me.

With respect,

I am dear Sir,

your friend and servant.

JOHN STARK.

MAJ. GEN. HEATH.

BATTLE OF JOHNSTOWN.

In October, Major Ross commanding at Buck's Island, left that place, with a party of 450 men in batteaux, and proceeded to the Oneida Lake, where leaving their boats and provisions under the care of twenty invalids, they advanced by way of Cherry Valley, to the Mohawk, which they struck at a place opposite Anthony's Nose. From this, they directed their march to Warren's Bush, destroyed twenty farm houses, with their outhouses, containing large

quantities of grain, and killed two persons. After this, they crossed the Mohawk at a ford twenty miles above Schenectady, and proceeded in good order to Sir William Johnson's Hall; which, they reached a quarter of an hour before Colonel Willet, whose detachment crossed the river six miles higher and were marching for the same point. The Col. immediately attacked the enemy, and the action would have terminated greatly in his favour, but part of his troops who covered a field piece, suddenly giving way, occasioned the loss of the gun and ammunition cart. In a short time however, they were retaken by Willet's men* with great bravery; but not until the enemy had robbed the cart of all its ammunition. Night coming on, put an end to the action. Part of Col. Willet's men however kept possession of the Hall all night; during which, the enemy retreated six miles into the woods. Thirty prisoners were taken, seven of the enemy and three of Willet's men were killed; while forty on both sides were wounded.

The action commenced yesterday afternoon, and Col. Willet pursued them this morning, with a force about equal to theirs,† we also learn that a detachment has been sent from Fort Herkimer to destroy their boats and provisions. Schenectady 1781, 26 October at 6 o'clock P. M.

H. GLEN.

This party consisted of about 550, British Indians and Tories, who were so roughly handled

* At this time Major Rowley of Mass. arrived with a detachment of Willet's men and attacked the enemy with great bravery.

† Willet had a party of Indians with him, who he said, furnished the best cavalry for wood service.

by Willet, that they returned to Canada with but 220 men. Many perished in the wilderness: their boats and provisions, having been cut off, and their retreat greatly harrassed. Col. Walter Butler notorious for his cruelties, was refused quarter and slain by the pursuers.

In passing through the country at this time, while it was subject to the enemy's ravages, it was very easy to ascertain who were Whigs, and who were Tories. The houses and estates of the latter being in all cases respected by the enemy; while the property of the friends of liberty was indiscriminately destroyed, and plundered.

ANECDOTES OF COLONEL CILLEY

We regret that we have not the materials for a detailed sketch of the services, of this gallant officer. The following anecdotes however; speak volumes in praise of his courage and patriotism.

As a prelude to the engagement at Behmus heights, a British flanking party was directed to turn the American wing, where Cilley was posted, who was ordered to counteract the movement. As the parties approached each other, and a few scattering trees only intervened, the British Col. was heard to give the order, "Fix bayonets, and charge the d—d rebels." Col. Cilley was near enough to hear, and responded loudly enough for the enemy to understand, "That is a game two can play at—Charge, by G—d, and we will try it!" The Americans charged at the word, and rushing upon the enemy, discharged a volley in their faces, who broke and fled without stopping to cross steel with

the "D—d rebels," leaving a number of their comrades on the field.

At the battle of Monmouth, when Gen. Lee was on his retreat, Cilley's regiment checked the pursuit of the enemy, and drove them back in turn. Washington, who at that moment arrived, delighted at the gallant stand made by the New-Hampshire regiment, enquired, 'What troops are these?' 'True blooded Yankees, Sir,' was the Col's. emphatic reply.

In the retreat from Ticonderoga, a son of Col. Cilley was left behind, and fell into the hands of the British, who ascertaining that he was the son of an officer of distinction in the American army, brought him to Burgoyne. The General, after treating him kindly, set him at liberty, and furnished him with a horse and saddle bags full of his proclamations.—These he carried to his father, who taking one of them, indignantly tore it to pieces, and scattering them to the winds, exclaimed, "So shall their army be scattered."

ANECDOTES OF GENERAL STARK.

At the time the officer appeared to conduct the troops to the camp at Still-water, General Stark had not arrived. The troops were paraded, and on their march, when he rode up and ordered them back to quarters. In vain the officer with tears in his eyes, represented the distress and alarm then prevalent in the American army on the Mohawk; the General was inexorable; said he was not accountable to Congress, or to their Generals, and should direct the operations of his own troops as he thought would be most conducive to the good of his country. This determination protected the frontier

of Vermont from being ravaged, and enabled him to make an immediate and successful attack upon the troops of Burgoyne; and by routing a large body of them to dishearten the remainder.

Just before the action at Bennington, Col. Baum addressed his troops, and in the course of his remarks, stated that the "countrymen by whom they were about to be attacked, were the owners of the soil, and would make a desperate effort to defend it; but could not contend against their superior discipline aided by a strong position. "General Stark on the other hand, addressed his yeomanry as follows. "There are your enemies the red coats, and Tories—we must have them in half an hour, or my wife sleeps a widow this night."

General Stark with his centre column was slowly advancing towards the front of the enemy's works, in order to give time for his flanking parties to turn their right and left, and attack the rear, when they brought their field pieces to bear upon his division. He observed to an officer—"They begin to take notice of us, but we shall return the compliment soon." Just after the fire commenced, an officer who had never before been in battle, ran up saying "for God's sake General what shall I do," "Take a pinch of snuff, and do your duty," replied the veteran.

The late Major Dow of Hampton Falls related the following anecdote of Gen. Stark. When he was quartered at Winter Hill, as Col. of the first New Hampshire regiment, a Col. Hubbard was sent from Exeter, as Paymaster for the New Hampshire line. He was one of the Exeter junto, and disposed to make as much difficulty as possible; but being a man of plausible address, he succeeded in obtaining from the then ruling authorities, this important appointment. He had some personal hostility to Col. Stark, and took this occasion to manifest it; and with a view to cause a mutiny in the regiment. The

troops were marched by companies down to Medford, where he had taken his quarters, to receive their pay. This he refused them on the plea, that their pay rolls were not properly made out. The men returned in a great rage, and the next day with new pay rolls, waited upon Hubbard once more. The same difficulty still existed. The third day the same was repeated; and the soldiers returned almost in a state of mutiny to camp. They then beset the Colonel's quarters calling loudly for their pay. Col. Stark was provoked, said that "Hubbard was a poltroon, and as he made him three visits, it was but fair to exact one in return." Upon this, Sergeant Abbot went down to Medford with a party of the soldiers, (volunteers), arrested Hubbard at his quarters, and brought him to camp, his music playing "Rogue's March" all the way.

Upon examination, he could find no fault with the payrolls, paid the men, and was dismissed. Upon his return, he pretended that his money had been stolen in his absence. It was the first emission of New Hampshire paper money. Information was immediately forwarded to the General Court at Exeter, who, as very little of the paper had actually been put into circulation, voted to call it in by proclamation. Hubbard was then at Exeter. The following evening a stranger muffled in a cloak, came to the door keeper, handed a bundle for the speaker, and instantly disappeared. It was the money supposed to have been stolen from Hubbard, at Medford. This put the credit of the latter upon so doubtful a foundation that he left the army.

This affair subjected Col. Stark to a court of Inquiry; which after several sittings, reported that it was inexpedient to have any further consideration of the subject. The late Capt. Emery of Concord was a member of the Court.

GENERAL FRASER.

General Fraser was a descendant of Lord Lovat, who was beheaded for the rebellion in favor Charles Edward. He was a Brigadier General in the army of Burgoyne. Two of the American officers taken at Hubbardstown, relate the following anecdote of him. He saw that they were in distress, as their continental paper would not pass with the English; and offered to loan them as much as they wished for their present convenience. They took three guineas each.

He remarked, to them—"Gentlemen take what you wish—give me your due bills and when we reach Albany, I trust to your honor to take them up; for we shall doubtless over-run the country, and I shall, probably, have an opportunity of seeing you again." General Fraser fell in the battle of the 7th of October: the notes were consequently never paid; but the signers of them could not refrain from shedding tears at the fate of this gallant and generous enemy.

 ANECDOTE OF GOV. LANGDON.

The following anecdote of John Langdon affords a noble example of the patriotism of that devoted friend of American Independence, at this hour of trial and danger.

The Provincial Legislature was in session at Exeter, when the appalling news of the fall of Ticonderoga arrived. The members of that body were disheartened, the public credit was exhausted, there were no means to subsist even a single regiment, provided one could be raised. The men of

New Hampshire had already exerted themselves to the extent of their ability. John Langdon was at that time, speaker of the assembly ; and addressed the house as follows.

“ I have three thousand dollars in hard money, I will pledge my plate for three thousand more ; I have seventy hogsheads of Tobago rum, which shall be sold for the most it will bring. These are at the service of the State. If we succeed in defending our fire-sides and homes, I may be remunerated ; if we do not, the property will be of no value to me. Our old friend Stark, who so nobly maintained the honour of our State at Bunker’s Hill, may safely be intrusted with the conduct of the enterprise ; and we will check the progress of Burgoyne.”

This noble proposal infused new life into the assembly ; and in a few days, by means of the private funds furnished by John Langdon, a Brigade was assembled and on its march for the frontiers. To John Langdon, do we owe the raising and sustaining of this gallant army of freemen ; and to John Stark who knew not personal fear, who was as cool and deliberate amid the hurry and confusion of the combat, as when ploughing his acres at home, do we owe the achievement of one of the most brilliant exploits which grace the pages of American history.

The late Judge Walker of Concord, N. H. was a member of the Legislature at this crisis ; and has often remarked that he considered the patriotic services of Langdon and Stark upon this occasion, as entitling them to scarcely less praise than that bestowed upon the commander in Chief.

The venerable Jonathan Eastman of Concord N. H. furnishes the following anecdotes of his campaign against Burgoyne.

During the armistice, which followed the battle of October 7, 1777, many of Burgoyne's followers commenced their retreat towards Canada by the only pass open to them, that by way of Lake George, where the Americans had no forces stationed. The enemy's horses were kept without the camp, in that direction, under charge of the servants of the army; from whom, many were taken by Tories, and others, who wished to escape into Canada. The American soldiers frequently way laid these fellows, and seized the horses, for their private benefit. Capt. Eastman went out with three others on a scout of this kind. They went in among the horses, where they found several Hessians, whom they informed that Burgoyne must surrender, and that they would go to Boston, where they would have plenty to eat and drink, and would not be eaten themselves, as the British had told them. In their return at the outskirts of the place of forage, they succeeded in capturing a good horse for each of them, after killing two Tories, and wounding a third. They were returning with their prizes, when they met Gen. Stark, who had just arrived from Fort Edward, with 2500 men to close up the only passage for Burgoyne's escape, "What, Eastman, says the General, have you been stealing Burgoyne's horses? he will have you indicted at King's Bench for felony, and call on me to prove the fact."

Capt. Eastman sold his horse for \$130, and bought two others, which were stolen by some of the camp followers, while feeding in the intervale.

On his return to Concord, Capt. Eastman came to the house of the venerable and patriotic Mr. Walker; who met him at his gate, though then so far advanced in life, that he moved about with difficulty;

he enquired, what news? "I have seen the British army lay down their arms," was the answer. Thank God! says the aged patriot, now I can depart in peace.

Just below Fort Edward, on the margin of a small brook falling into the Hudson, the Americans discovered three graves neatly turfed, having at the head, boards inscribed with the names of three British officers. In walking over them, they sounded hollow, and upon digging, the soldiers discovered three fine batteaux, each capable of containing 50 men. They were well covered with boards, and were intended by some of Burgoyne's party to aid a retreat.

When Burgoyne's men proceeded to the field in which they were to pile their arms, they emptied their cartridge boxes upon the ground. Col. Gerish filled his saddle bags with them, to carry home the bags were stolen by two wags, of the regiment, ~~the cartridges thrown into the Battenkil, and gravel substituted in their place.~~

Correspondence between President Jefferson and Gen. Stark.

Monticello, Aug. 19, 1805.

RESPECTED GENERAL,

I have lately learnt through the channel of the newspapers, with pleasure, that you are still in life and enjoy health and spirits. The victories of Bennington, the first link in the chain of successes, which issued in the surrender at Saratoga, are still fresh in the memory of every American; and the name of him who achieved them, dear to his heart. Permit me therefore as a stranger, who knows you only by the services you have rendered, to express

to you, the sincere emotions of pleasure, and attachment which he felt, on learning that your days had been thus prolonged, his fervent prayers that they still may be continued in comfort, and the conviction that whenever they end, your memory will be cherished, by those who come after you, as one who has not lived in vain for his his country. I salute you, venerable patriot, and General, with affection and reverence.

TH. JEFFERSON.

HON. MAJOR GEN. STARK.

Derryfield, Oct. 1805.

RESPECTED SIR,

Your friendly letter of Aug. 19, came to hand a few days since ; but owing to the imbecility, inseparably connected with the wane of life, I have not been able to acknowledge it until now. I have been in my 77th year since the 28th of August last, and since the close of the Revolutionary War, have devoted my time entirely to domestic employments: and in the vale of obscurity and retirement, have tasted that tranquillity, which the hurry and bustle of a busy world can seldom afford. I thank you for the compliment you are pleased to make me, nor will I conceal the satisfaction I feel, in receiving it from a man who possesses so large a share of my confidence. I will confess to you Sir, that I once began to think, that the labors of the Revolution were in vain, and that I should live to see the system restored, which I had assisted in destroying. But my fears are at an end ; and I am now calmly preparing to meet the unerring fate of man, with however the satisfactory reflection, that I leave a numerous progeny, in a country highly favoured by nature, and under a government whose princi-

ples and views, I believe to be correct and just. With the highest considerations of respect and esteem.

I have the honor to be Sir,
your most obedient servant.

JOHN STARK.

THOS. JEFFERSON, Esq. President U. S.

BATTLE OF BENNINGTON.

The anniversary of Bennington battle has been celebrated for many years, since that event. As any thing relating to that action, will be interesting to the publick, we subjoin the following correspondence.

Bennington, July 22, 1809.

HONORED AND RESPECTED Sir,

You can never forget that on the memorable 16th of August, 1777, you commanded the American troops in the action commonly called the Bennington Battle, that under divine Providence, astonishing success attended our arms. Our enemy was defeated and captured; and this town and its vicinity saved from impending ruin. It has been usual for the people on every anniversary of that occasion, to hold the day in grateful remembrance, by a public celebration. On Thursday last, a large and respectable number of leading characters in this and the neighboring towns, met to choose a committee of arrangements, for a celebration on the 16th of August next. More than sixty of those who met, were with you in the action: they recollect you Sir, with peculiar pleasure and have directed us to write, and request you, if your health and age will permit, to honor them with your presence on

that day. All your expenses will be remunerated. No event could so animate the "brave sons of liberty," as to see their venerable leader and preserver once more in Bennington, that the young men may once, have the pleasure of seeing the man, who so gallantly fought to defend their sacred rights, their fathers and mothers, and protected them while lisping in infancy.

Should this request be inconsistent with your health, we should be happy in receiving a letter from you, on that subject, that we may read it to them on that day. Sentiments from the aged, and from those who have hazarded their lives, to rescue us from the shackles of tyranny will be read with peculiar pleasure, and remembered long after their fathers have retired to the silent tomb.

Accept Sir our warmest wishes for your health and happiness; and permit us dear General, to assure you that we are with great esteem your cordial and affectionate friends.

GIDEON OLIN,
JONATHAN ROBINSON,
DAVID FAY.

THE HON. GEN. STARK, Derryfield.

ANSWER.

At my Quarters,
Derryfield, 31st July, 1807.

MY FRIENDS AND

FELLOW SOLDIERS, I received yours of the 23d inst. containing your fervent expressions of friendship, and your very polite invitation to meet with you to celebrate the 16th of August in Bennington. As you observe, "I can never forget that

I commanded American troops" on that day at Bennington. They were men who had not learned the art of submission, nor had they been trained to the art of war. But our "astonishing success" taught the enemies of liberty, that undisciplined freemen are superior to veteran slaves. I fear we shall have to teach the lesson anew to that perfidious nation. Nothing could afford me greater pleasure, than to meet your "brave sons of Liberty" on the fortunate spot. But as you justly anticipate, the infirmities of old age will not permit ; for I am now four score and one years old, and the lamp of life is almost spent. I have of late had many such invitations, but was not ready, for there was not oil in the lamp.

You say you wish your young men to see me ; but you, who have seen me, can tell them that I was never worth much for a show, and certainly cannot be worth their seeing now.

In case of my not being able to attend, you wish my sentiments. These you shall have as free as the air we breathe. As I was then, I am now, the friend of the equal rights of men, of representative democracy, of republicanism, and the Declaration of Independence, the great charter of our national rights, and of course a friend to the indissoluble union, and constitution of the States. I am the enemy of all foreign influence, for all foreign influence, is the influence of tyranny. This is the only chosen spot of Liberty, this is the only Republic on earth.

You well know gentlemen that at the time of the event you celebrate, there was a powerful British faction in the country, (called Tories) a material part of the force we contended with.

This faction was rankling in our councils, until it had laid a foundation for the subversion of our liberties. But by having good sentinels at our outposts, we were apprised of our danger ; the sons of free-

dom beat the alarm, and as at Bennington, they came, they saw, and they conquered.

They are my orders now, and will be my last orders to all my volunteers to look to their sentries; for there is a dangerous British party in the country lurking in their hiding places more dangerous than all our foreign enemies; and whenever they shall openly appear, let them render the same account of them as was given at Bennington, let them assume what name they will.

I shall remember gentlemen the respect you and "the inhabitants of Bennington and its neighborhood," have shewn me until I go to the country, from which no traveller returns. I must soon receive marching orders.

JOHN STARK.

HON. GIDEON OLIN,
JONATHAN ROBINSON, Esq.
DAVID FAY, Esq. Bennington.

Accompanying this letter, the General forwarded as his volunteer, this sentiment.

"Live free or die,—death is not the worst of evils."

The following is a literal copy of a handbill issued at Boston, Aug. 22, 1777, now in our possession:

IMPORTANT NEWS.

Boston (12 o'clock,) Friday, Aug. 22.

The following letter from Hon. Maj. Gen. Lincoln, to the honourable council, is just received by express.

Bennington, August 18, 1777.

GENTLEMEN—I most sincerely congratulate you on the late very signal success gained over the ene-

my near this place, by a few Continental troops, the Rangers from the Grants, some of the militia from the State of Massachusetts, and those from New-Hampshire and the Grants, under the command of Brigadier General Stark; officers and men stimulated by the most laudable motives, behaved with the greatest spirit and bravery, entered the enemy's several intrenchments with fortitude and alacrity, amidst the incessant fire from their field pieces and musketry; our loss killed supposed to be between 20 and 30, wounded in common proportion; the enemy were totally defeated; the number of their slain has not yet been ascertained, as they fought on a retreat several miles in a wood, but supposed to be about 200, a large number of the wounded have fallen into our hands. We have taken one Lieut. Col. mortally wounded, one Major, five Captains, twelve Lieutenants, four Ensigns, two Cornets, one Judge advocate, one Baron, two Canadian officers and three Surgeons; besides the above officers and wounded, there are in our hands 37 British soldiers, 398 Hessians, 38 Canadians, and 155 Tories, four brass field pieces, with a considerable quantity of baggage. The number the enemy had in the field cannot be ascertained, perhaps 1500.

It is very unhappy for the wounded, and painful to us, that such is our situation, that we cannot afford them all that speedy relief which their distresses demand of us.—We were under a necessity to forward the prisoners to the state of Massachusetts; they are now under the care of General Fellows; he will wait the order of council with respect to them.

I was ordered by General Schuyler a few days since from this place to join the army at Stillwater, and was on my return when the action happened, this is the best account I can obtain of matters at present. It appears by one of the enemy's journals, that

the day before the general action they had 30 killed, and two Indian chiefs, and some wounded.

I am gentlemen, with sentiments
of esteem and regard, your
very humble servant,

B. LINCOLN.

Published by order of Council,

JOHN AVERY, Dep. Sec.

Captain Barns who brought the above letter, by express, was in those gallant actions; the following particulars of which were taken from his own mouth. viz.—That on Saturday the 16th inst. about 1600 militia from New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, and the Grants, under the command of Brigadier General Stark, about five miles west of Bennington, at a place called Looms-chork, attacked a body of the enemy, consisting of about 1500 in their entrenchments, and after an obstinate engagement, dislodged them from their strong holds, making prisoners of upwards of 300 men, and taking ~~two~~ ^{two} field pieces. General Stark, being reinforced with 150 Continental troops under Col. Warner, took advantage of the confusion of the enemy's retreat, and pursued them with great slaughter about two miles and an half, where the enemy were reinforced with 1000 men and two field pieces; a second and very severe engagement ensued; and after continuing about two hours, the enemy beat a retreat, the militia rushed on with a universal shout, which put the enemy into such confusion, that they left their wounded behind, and General Stark complete master of the field; in the second onset, two more field pieces, together with 300 more of the enemy were taken, among whom were a Colonel, a Major, the General's aid de camp, and 30 other officers, the prisoners arrived at Lanesborough last Tuesday night. The enemy left nearly two hundred

dead on the field. Our loss was 25 killed, and a number wounded. Among the prisoners were 147 Tories belonging to this and other states.—That the parties sent out by General Stark the day after the engagement brought in about 100 more prisoners; in the whole the prisoners amounted to more than 700. The number of the enemy in the lines first attacked by the militia only, were, as Captains Barns was informed by the aid de camp of the General commanding, 1500; and that their reinforcement consisted of 1000—about 1000 stand of arms, and eight loads of baggage were also taken, and 20 horses supposed to belong to the dragoons. The Lieut. Col. who was taken, is since dead of his wounds. General Stark is the same person who commanded a regiment at the famous battle of Bunker Hill, and behaved there with great intrepidity and courage.

Captain Barns says that after the first action, General Stark ordered a hogshead of rum for the refreshment of the militia, but so eager were they to attack the enemy upon their being reinforced, that they tarried not to taste of it, but rushed on the enemy with an ardor perhaps unparalled.

The following letter from General Stark to General Gates, contains the best account of the battle, we have ever seen in print.

Bennington, Aug. 23, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL,

Yours of the 19th was received with pleasure, and I should have answered it sooner, but have been very unwell ever since. General Lincoln has written you upon the subject, with whom, I most cordially concur in opinion.

I will now give you a short account of the action near this place. On the 13th of Aug. being informed that a party of Indians were at Cambridge on their

way to this place, I detached Lieut. Col. Gregg, with 200 men, to oppose them; and in the night was informed that a large body of the enemy were advancing in their rear. I rallied my Brigade, sent orders to Col. Warner, whose regiment lay at Manchester, and also expresses to the militia to come in with all speed to our assistance; which orders were all promptly obeyed. We then marched with our collected force in quest of the enemy, and after proceeding five miles, we met Gregg in full retreat, the enemy being within a mile of him. Our little army was immediately drawn up in order of battle, upon sight of which, the British halted and commenced intrenching upon very advantageous ground. A party of skirmishers sent out upon their front had a good effect, and killed 30 of them without loss on our side. The ground where I then was, not being fit for a general action, we retired one mile, encamped, and called a council of war, where it was determined to send two detachments to the rear, while the remainder attacked in front. The 15th proving rainy, afforded the enemy an opportunity to surround his camp with a log breastwork, inform General Burgoyne of his situation, and request a reinforcement.

On the morning of the 16th, Col. Simon joined us with a party of Berkshire militia. In pursuance of our plan, I detached Col. Nichols with 200 men to the left, and Col. Herrick with 300, to the right, with orders to turn the enemy's flanks, unite their force and attack his rear. Cols. Hubbard and Stickney, with 200 men, were posted upon his right, and one hundred, stationed in front, to attract their attention to that quarter. About 3 o'clock, Col. Nichols began the attack, which was followed up by the remainder of my little army. I pushed up in front with the reserve, and in a few minutes the action became general. It lasted about two hours,

and was the hottest engagement I have ever witnessed, resembling a continual clap of thunder. The enemy were at last compelled to abandon their field pieces and baggage, and surrender themselves prisoners of war. They were well enclosed by breastworks, with artillery: but the superior courage and conduct of our people proved too much for them. In a few minutes we were informed that a large reinforcement of the enemy were on their march and within two miles of us. At this lucky moment Col. Warner's regiment came up fresh, who was directed to advance and commence an attack. I pushed up as many men as could be collected, to his support, and the action continued obstinately on both sides, until sunset, when the enemy gave way and was pursued until dark. With one hour more of daylight, we should have captured the whole detachment. We obtained four pieces of brass cannon, 1000 stand of arms, several Hessian swords, eight brass drums--750 prisoners--207 killed on the spot wounded unknown. The enemy effected his escape by marching all night, and we returned to camp.

Too much honor cannot be awarded to our brave officers and soldiers for their gallant behaviour, in advancing through fire and smoke, and mounting breastworks supported by cannon.

Had every man been a Charles the twelfth,* or an Alexander, they could not have behaved more gallantly. I cannot particularize any officer, as they all behaved with the greatest spirit. Cols Warner and Herrick, by their intelligence and experience, rendered me important services: and I desire they may be recommended to Congress.

* The General was an enthusiastic admirer of Charles the XII. The life and history of that intrepid warrior, was the constant companion of all his campaigns and even to the last of his life, he dwelt with pleasure, upon the chivalrous exploits of this Alexander of the North.

As I promised in my orders, that the soldiers should have all the plunder taken in the British camp, I pray you to inform me of the value of the cannon and other artillery stores.

I lost my horse in the action, and was glad to come off so well. Our loss is inconsiderable, about 30 killed and 40 wounded.

Very respectfully,
yours in the common cause,

JOHN STARK.

HON. MAJ. GEN. GATES.

N. B. In this action, I think we have returned the enemy a proper compliment for their Hubbards-town affair, and their cutting off St. Clair's rear guard.

Gen. Washington to Gen. Stark, appointing him to the command of the Northern Department.

Head-Quarters, New-Windsor, June 25, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

Upon finding it necessary for the operations of the campaign, to recall the continental troops from the northward, I have ordered 600 militia from the counties of Berkshire and Hampshire to that quarter, in addition to the militia and State troops of New York; and I have now to request that you will take the general command of all the troops in that department as soon as conveniently may be. I am induced to appoint you to this command from your knowledge and influence among the inhabitants of that country.

You will be pleased therefore to repair to Saratoga and establish your Head Quarters at that place, retaining with you 400 of the troops from Massa-

chusetts and sending the other 200, to Colonel Willet who will remain in command upon the Mohawk river, as his popularity in that country will enable him to render essential services there.

In case of an incursion from the enemy, you will make such dispositions as you shall judge most advantageous for opposing them and protecting the frontier, not withdrawing the troops from the Mohawk river. I rely upon it you will use your utmost exertions to draw forth the force of the country from the Green Mountains and all the contiguous territory: and I doubt not your requisitions will be attended with success, as your personal influence must be unlimited amongst those people at whose head, you have formerly fought and conquered with so much reputation and glory.

I request you will be very particular in keeping up proper discipline, and preventing the troops from committing depredations upon the inhabitants.

Be pleased to let me hear from you from time to time, and believe to be dear Sir.

Your most obedient
humble servant,
G. WASHINGTON.



GENERAL STARK TO GOVERNOR CHITTENDEN.

Saratoga, Nov. 5, 1781.

SIR,

Ordered by his Excellency the Commander in Chief to assume the command of the northern department, and to call if necessary, for the aid of the Militia of this State and those of Vermont, for protecting the frontiers of both States, I have observed with great satisfaction, the alacrity with which

both have taken the field on every requisition. But accountable as I am to superiors, and inexcusable as I should be if I neglected to advise them of any circumstances which carry the aspect of iniquity, I wish to receive the most authentic information respecting the sergeant of the Vermont militia who was slain and his party captured by the British. I expect your excellency will enable me to furnish a minute detail of it to Congress by affording me a perusal of the original letter, which the British commanding officer is said to have written you upon the occasion. This will be returned you by a safe hand and a copy transmitted to Congress.

The report as brought to me is that upon the party's arrival at Ticonderoga, the British officer expressed great displeasure that the citizens of Vermont had been disturbed, sent for the corpse of the deceased sergeant, caused it to be interred with military honors, and then dismissed the captured party with what liquors and provisions they chose to carry and delivered them a letter of apology to your Excellency. If this be a true account, it indicates a deep stroke of policy on the part of the enemy, to raise a suspicion in the minds of all Americans that the Vermontese are friendly to them, or that they have really encouragement from some people in Vermont. That the principal portion of the people of Vermont are zealously attached to the American cause no honest man can entertain a doubt, but that like every other State, it contains its proportion of lurking traitors, is a reasonable supposition, and if these by their machinations have brought upon the people injurious suspicions, there is no doubt but the latter will severely punish the miscreants as soon as their misdeeds are fully developed.

No exertion on my part shall be wanted to eradicate every suspicion injurious to the people of Vermont. Your compliance with my request will prob-

ably afford me one of the means ; and I pray most earnestly your acquiescence, that I may detail the whole business in its true light.

I congratulate you with the most heartfelt satisfaction on the glorious event which has placed another British army in our power, which was announced on the 3d inst. by a discharge of fourteen cannon and yesterday, by that of a like number of platoons in honor of the United States of America.

I am Sir,
 respectfully,
 your humble servant,
 JOHN STARK.

THE ANSWER.

Arlington, Nov, 14th, 1781.

DEAR GENERAL,

Your kind favor of the 5th inst. was received on the 10th, but through the extreme hurry of business and for a want of a proper conveyance, I have neglected the answer till now.

The particular account you have requested me to send you in regard to the slain serjeant, of the Vermont militia and the return of the party with him, who were discharged by the British officer commanding. I have thought it my duty to transmit to his Excellency General Washington, together with every other public movement in this vicinity, that in any manner relates to the welfare of the Independent States of America. This I doubt not will be satisfactory.

I take this opportunity to return my thanks for the honor done this State, by your directing the discharge of the 14th cannon, on your late public day

of rejoicing, occasioned by the capture of Lord Cornwallis and his army.

A like day will probably be observed in this State on the same occasion.

I am, dear General,
your most obedient
humble servant.

THOS. CHITTENDEN.

BRIG. GEN. STARK.

LETTER FROM MAJ. GEN. LORD STERLING.

HEAD QUARTERS.

Albany, Nov. 6, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

Since my leaving Saratoga, I have received a letter from Col. Willet giving a particular account of his action near Johnstown and his subsequent pursuit. The enemy were very precipitate in their retreat leaving behind them their packs, blankets, &c. which were found strewn through the woods. He pursued them eight miles beyond Canada Creek. Before his arrival there he fell in with about 40 who had been left in the rear to procure provisions, and instantly dispersed them. At the creek he came up with their rear, when an action commenced in which Major Walter Butler fell with a number of others. Finding his own provisions short and but little probability of coming up with their main body, he wisely gave over the pursuit, leaving them in a situation promising little less than certain death. Cold and the excruciating pains of hunger will in my opinion produce a death more becoming such a plundering gang of murderers than the bayonet or ball; and as they must have been at

his quitting them, at least eight days march from any place where they could procure provisions, the purpose of an entire defeat must be very well answered. Enclosed is an order which I have received from Gen. Heath. The returns I wish may be forwarded as soon as possible.

I am, dear Sir,

your most obedient

and very humble servant,

STERLING.

Maj. General.

BRIG. GEN. STARK.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN PRESIDENT MADISON AND
GENERAL STARK.

Washington, December 26, 1809.

SIR,

A very particular friend of yours who has been much recommended to my esteem has lately mentioned you to me in a manner, of which I avail myself to offer this expression of the sense I have always entertained of your character, and of the part you bore, as a hero, and a patriot, in establishing the independence of our country.

I cannot better render this tribute, than by congratulating you on the happiness you cannot fail to derive from the motives which made you a Champion in so glorious a cause; from the gratitude shewn by your fellow citizens for your distinguished services, and especially from the opportunity which a protracted life has given you, of witnessing the triumph of Republican Institutions, so dear to you, in the unrivalled prosperity flowing from

them, during a trial of more than a fourth of a century.

May your life still be continued as long as it can be a blessing, and may the example it will bequeathe never be lost on those who live after you.

JAMES MADISON.

GEN. JOHN STARK.

ANSWER.

Derryfield, January 21, 1810.

SIR,

I had the pleasure yesterday of receiving an address from the First Magistrate of the only Republic on earth. This letter compliments me highly upon my services as a soldier, and praises my patriotism. It is true I love the country of my birth; for it is not only the land which I would choose before all others; but it is the only spot where I could wear out the remnant of my days with any satisfaction.

Twice has my country been envaded by foreign enemies and twice I went out with her citizens to obtain a peace; when that object was attained, I returned to my farm, and my original occupation. I have ever valued peace so highly that I would not sacrifice it for any thing but freedom; yet submission to insult I never thought the way to obtain, or support either.

I was pleased with your dismissal of the man sent by England to insult us, because she will ascertain by the experiment, that we are the same nation that we were in '76, grown stronger by age, and having gained wisdom by experience.

If the enmity of the British is to be feared, their alliance is still more dangerous. I have fought by their side, and against them, and have found them to be treacherous and ungenerous as friends, and

dishonorable as enemies. I have also tried the French first as enemies, and since as friends, and although all the strong prejudices of my youth were against them, still I have formed a more favourable opinion of them, than of the English. Let us watch even them. But of all the dangers from which I apprehend the most serious evil to my country and our Republican Institutions, none requires a more watchful eye than our internal British Faction.

If the communication of the result of my experience can be of my service in the approaching storm, or if any benefit can be derived from any example of mine—my strongest wish will be gratified.

The few days or weeks of the remainder of my life will be in friendship with James Madison.

JOHN STARK.

To JAMES MADISON, *President of the United States.*

DR. BENTLEY'S LETTERS TO GEN. STARK.

The following letters were written by the late Dr. Bentley, whose philanthropy and patriotism are well known. He sometimes visited Gen. Stark, and kept up a friendly intercourse with him, until his own death. He informed the General that he should deliver a funeral oration at his demise, when ever it should take place; and actually prepared his notes for the purpose. But it was so ordered, that his own summons to the great tribunal came first; while his venerable friend was suffered to drag out the weary age of ninety four years; and survive all the American Generals of the Revolutionary army. Thus in the last instance, making good the old maxim which had been applied to him,—“first in the field, and last out of it.”

Letters from the late Dr. William Bentley of Salem,

Salem, Dec. 1, 1810.

MY GOOD GENERAL,

My packets of papers will prove that I have not forgotten you. One friend after another, has promised to convey them to you from Salem, without going the circuitous rout, by your worthy son at Boston. But after repeated disappointments, I return to my old route. Your southern friends all enquire after, and still delight to honor you.

Believe me that I never am more happy than in every expression of my veneration of Gen. Stark; and in every opportunity of evincing my readiness to serve him.

With the highest respect,

your devoted servant,

WILLIAM BENTLEY.

GEN. JOHN STARK.

Salem, May 31, 1811.

MY FATHER,

I long to pay another visit to Manchester. All your friends enquire for you. An officer told me lately, that on a public occasion, he drank as a toast, "Gen. Stark;" and a British officer present, remarked "that is the Hero who took me." We have a deep interest in your welfare. If any thing in my power, can give you pleasure, command

With duty and affection,

WILLIAM BENTLEY.

To GEN. JOHN STARK,

Manchester, N. H.

P. S. I send you papers by every opportunity, I would send them daily, if I could. Please ask your son when he sees my friend Stickney, to beg of him a few specimens of such fossils, stones, min-

erals, earths &c. as are within his reach, and much obliged one who will reward him to his full satisfaction.

W. B.

Salem Mass. August 13, 1811.

MY WORTHY GENERAL,

I have enclosed for you eight packets of newspapers &c. which I had no opportunity of forwarding from Salem, and now send by your son at Boston.

I am obliged to inform you, that your old friend Captain Addison Richardson left us last Wednesday, as firm as at the first.

The great and the good enquire after and remember you.

with all my heart,
and with the highest respect,
your obedient friend.

WILLIAM BENTLEY.

HON. GEN. STARK.

Salem, December 2, 1811.

MY GOOD GENERAL,

The communication between Salem, and Manchester, is so indirect, that I have few opportunities of sending to you, save by the circuitous route, of Boston. If you would charge your neighbours who visit Salem to call on me, I should have the pleasure oftener, of discovering that I remember you. I sent five packets by your son who has lately honored me with a visit.

With the papers, I sent you a book, which has in it this value, it treats our Indian affairs which threaten serious trouble.

Believe me to be most rich, when I imagine I can afford a momentary pleasure to the man to whom my country owes its salvation.

In all duty,
WILLIAM BENTLEY.

GEN JOHN STARK, *Manchester.*

The engraving at the head of this volume is from
 an original likeness of the General, taken by Miss
 Crowninshield, neice of Dr. Bentley. The veteran
 was then 82 years of age.

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 an original likeness of the General, taken by Miss
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[Faint, illegible text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.]

TALYCHON BENTLEY

NEW YORK, 1840

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